MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA SINCE WWII

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ABSTRACT

Canada's public immigration discourse is usually racialized in using an ideological framework to evaluate, select and make judgements of immigrants on whether they are culturally, socially, or economically desirable to Canada. Some social and economic affairs may present a discursive context for debates over immigration and the value of immigrants to Canada. By using a critical discourse analysis of news articles on immigration in Canada's national newspaper *The Globe and Mail* in four historical phases after the end of the Second World War, this study examines how the contents of "desirable immigrants" were changed throughout history. This study questions whether some social political affairs in a country or an extreme economic situation such as high unemployment can change the social boundaries of exclusion for immigrants of certain racial and ethnic backgrounds and allow more direct and exclusionary racial messages to be expressed in the discourse. The findings indicate that during economic recessions, it is more acceptable for the media and the public to express more directly racist messages about non-white immigrants, and some political factors and major social events may also influence how different ethnic groups of immigrants can be socially constructed. While a liberal democratic country like Canada may not accept overt racial discrimination, I argue that a social crisis or economic recession can change the social boundaries of exclusion for immigrants of certain racial and ethnic backgrounds and justify using more blatant racial messages in discussing immigrants.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The end of the Second World War marked the beginning of a new era of industrial growth in Canada. Until the 1960s, Canada had a relatively low unemployment rate (cf. Figure 1.1 Unemployment rate, 1946-2012). Job vacancy and industrial expansion together created a large labour shortage in Canada. Immigration has helped the growth of Canada's labour market in general, although the exact supply of immigrants varies depending on different historical periods (Denton, Feaver, and Spencer, 1999; Li, 2003). However, the rise and fall of the unemployment rate, together with some political and social affairs, create a context for the public to discuss the cost and benefit of immigration to Canada, since the unemployment issue arouses concerns about economic insecurity. The fluctuation in the unemployment rate has much potential to influence public debates on immigration. The goal of my research is to examine how the content of "desirable immigrants" in Canada's news discourse on immigration as represented by one major newspaper, *The Globe and Mail*, has changed with the fluctuations of economic situations and some important political and social affairs over four historical phases after the Second World War. Using the unemployment rate as an indicator of the economic situation in each phase, I collected news articles on immigration when the unemployment rates were at the highest and lowest levels after WWII in four phases. By analyzing both news articles on immigration and media-reported opinion polls, I take up a critical debate: whether a national economic recession or some social and political affairs can change the social boundaries of exclusion for immigrants of certain racial and ethnic backgrounds and allow obvious racial messages to be sometimes socially acceptable.

This thesis has eight chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the research problem and the historical background, which gave rise to this research. Chapter 2 summarizes my theoretical framework, including the main concepts and the basic theoretical perspectives I use to analyse Canadian immigration discourse. Chapter 3 describes the methodological aspects of this study, including an explanation of the research design, data collection and analytical procedures. Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 present the main body of analysis. Each deals with one time period after WWII and presents the prevailing character of media discussions about immigration during that period. These four periods are from 1946 to 1961, from 1962 to 1978, from 1979 to 1994, and from 1995 to 2012. The analysis in these chapters includes both a quantitative comparison of news articles about immigration when unemployment rates were at the highest and lowest levels in each phase, and qualitative research on post-WWII news articles and reported opinion polls with a topic on immigration. Chapter 8 summarizes my key findings, highlights the theoretical contribution of my work, and gives possible directions for future research on immigration discourse in Canadian society.

1.1.1 Research Problem

The analysis of news discussions on immigration in each of the four phases concentrates on three main questions: 1) Does the unemployment situation influence the content, language, and tone of media discussions on immigration in Canada? 2) If so, how are different immigrant groups attributed with stereotyped images and how are desirable immigrants articulated in the context of different historical phases? 3) Overall, what do these changes suggest about the boundaries of exclusion? By presenting the images created in each phase, I illustrate how the social boundaries of exclusion have changed, and my focus is to show that the changing social boundaries make it more acceptable for the media to express racial prejudice and advocate discrimination against certain groups of immigrants.

Canada's immigration discourse is highly racialized in the sense that debates about immigration include both explicit and implicit racial language. Immigration regulations and practices may also be embedded with an ideology that can promote serious racial exclusion (Li, 1999; Henry, et at. 2000; Henry & Tator, 2002). However, as Li argues, "a racist discourse assumes a gentle appearance in order to claim its legitimacy in a democratic society" (2001: 79). Thus, an explanatory model is needed to deconstruct racialized discourse and uncover the appearance of implicit racist ideologies of exclusion.

One key concept to understand and to deconstruct a racialized discourse is racialization. According to Miles, racialization refers to "processes by which meanings are attributed to particular objects, features and processes, in such a way that the latter are given special significance and carry or are embodied with a set of additional meaning" (1989: 69). This theoretical definition helps to explain how a discourse becomes racialized by repeatedly attributing extra meaning to certain topics. Another concept is democratic racism. According to Miles (1989), racism refers to ideas that delineate group boundaries based on real or alleged biological characteristics and attribute other negatively characteristics to groups already racialized. However, in a democratic country like Canada, racism is usually articulated in a subtle way. Henry, Tator, Mattis, and Rees (2006) named this type of racism as democratic racism. In their definition, democratic racism refers to a form of racism that allows racial myths and stereotypes to co-exist with principles of liberal democracy in a society.

Therefore, this study raises critical questions like: how is racism articulated differently in each of the four historical periods after WWII; and how does the racist message take on new content under different social and economic environments? To investigate these issues, I use a Critical Discourse Analysis as a methodology to analyze and deconstruct the underlying racial

messages in news articles about immigration for over 60 years that followed WWII. The focus is on the implications that media discourse built the boundaries of exclusion to certain ethnic groups of immigrants. I use the unemployment rate as an indication of the economic situation to explain how fluctuations in the economic environment can influence and reconstitute the boundaries of exclusion. Specifically, I examine how racial images are attributed to ethnic groups of immigrants especially when the unemployment rate is high, and how these racial images become socially accepted as a legitimate reason to voice explicit racism overtime.

1.1.2 Historical Background

This section outlines the historical background which provides a context for my research problem. Although my study aims to uncovering the racial implications of media portrayals of immigration after WWII, it is important to note the efforts to exclude "undesirable" immigrant groups historically. According to Li (2003), from the late nineteenth century until WWII, immigration to Canada can be classified into three phases, each of which was characterized in relation to the type of people who were accepted as desirable immigrants. For example, the first phase started in the late nineteenth century when the Canadian government outlined a "hierarchy of desirable immigrants," among which Northern European immigrants were the "most preferred class of newcomers" (Weinfeld and Wilkinson 1999: 57). At the bottom of the list were Jews and non-white immigrants who were not welcome and were labelled inferior according to Western culture (Kelly and Trebilcock, 1998: 442; Li, 2003: 21). As well, public talks expressed a direct resistance towards non-white immigrants in this phase, and often treated them as "unwanted foreigners" who threatened the social and cultural order of Canada (Roy, 1989, 1990; Li, 1998; Broda, 2005). It would not be considered racist for the government to refuse the entry of undesirable immigrants, since individuals from undesirable groups were unwelcome in Canada. The government agreed to accept the entry of "undesirables" only when the country was faced

with a labour shortage (Weinfeld and Wilkinson, 1999). Therefore, by setting up a hierarchy of racial preference and selecting immigrants on the basis of ethnic origin, Canada's immigration regulations and public discussions constructed both symbolic and territorial boundaries of "insiders" and "outsiders" along racial lines (Li, 2003b).

The second phase began at the end of nineteenth century and continued to the early decades of the twentieth century. Canada was in need of a large number of immigrants for agricultural settlement. However, in a government report in 1910, Canada insisted on the norms of racial preference and inequality again:

> The policy of the Department (of Interior) at the present time is to encourage the immigration of farmers, farm labourers, and female domestic servants from the United States, the British Isles, and certain Northern European countries, namely, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Iceland. On the other hand, it is the policy of the Department to do all in its power to keep out of the country undesirables ... those belonging to nationalities unlikely to assimilate and who consequently prevent the building up of a united nation of people of similar customs and ideals. (Manpower and Immigration Canada, 1974b: 9-10)

In this governmental report, the Canadian government encouraged immigrants who specialized in farming and domestic services from the United States, Britain, and selected European countries to migrate to Canada. Asians and other non-white immigrants were not included. By implication, Asians and other non-whites were seen as undesirable and "unlikely to assimilate" because of their racial and cultural differences (MIC, 1974b). The language in this government report conveys a rather explicitly racial tone. Therefore, at this second phase, even

though Canada was in a period of "acute labour shortage" (Li, 2003: 19), non-white immigrants were excluded from the immigration discourse as workers to be admitted.

Further, the underlying racial ideas and intolerance to non-white immigrants were also reinforced and became justified through government regulations and public discussions. For example, the experiences of Chinese immigrants who were seen as "socially questionable and racially undesirable" in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries demonstrate this point (cf. Li, 1998). As early as 1881, the Canadian government recruited Chinese workers to build the western section of the national railway, but the declining need for Asian labourers and the increasing hostility from the public eventually stopped the influx of more undesirables (Li, 1998). There were a number of regulations "specifically designed to restrict and control Chinese immigration" (Krauter & Davis 1978: 63). Beginning in 1885, the Parliament of Canada passed an act to restrict and to regulate Chinese immigration and to impose a head tax of $50 on every Chinese person who came to Canada. This tax was later raised to $500 by 1903 (Li, 1998; 2003). When these restrictions did not stop the flow of Chinese immigrants, the government took the further steps of barring family reunions of Asian immigrants, and increased the waiting time for Chinese residents to obtain citizenship (Li, 1998). Finally, when anti-Asian sentiments kept rising, the government announced the Chinese Immigration Act (also known as the Chinese Exclusion Act), legislatively restricting the entry of Chinese from 1923 to 1947 (Bolaria & Li, 1988). It was not until 1967 that a point system of assessment was applied to all prospective immigrants without consideration of their country of origin or racial background; at this point, Chinese immigrants were admitted to Canada under the same terms and conditions as other groups (Privy Council, 1967-1616).

The third phase ran through two World Wars. It was characterized by a slowing down of the immigration flow because of the First World War and the Great Depression. Yet British, American, and European immigrants were still considered as desirables (Li, 2003: 21). On the other hand, restrictions to immigrants from non-traditional sources such as Asia and Africa were not removed until the 1960s (Li, 2003). Therefore, the whole period of immigration policy before WWII was characterized by an obvious racial exclusion to those of non-white origins. Due to the human rights movement's targeting of equality for people of different ethnic origins, and the great need for labour from the global labour market, Canada abandoned the explicitly racist immigration policies after WWII.

1.1.3 Post-War Context

In the first decade after WWII, Canada needed large numbers of labourers to help the country recover from the economic recession. The Immigration Act in 1952 gave power to specially designated immigration officers to determine what kinds of people would be admissible (Hawkins, 1988: 101-107). However, by the 1960s, the government revoked the special provisions of admission to British, French, and American citizens, and replaced them with a policy in favour of immigrants with educational, professional, and technical qualifications (Li, 2003). In the second decade after the War, the Immigration Act of 1967 established a point system of assessment, which ensured a non-discriminatory standard of selection to apply to all immigrants. The third decade after WWII witnessed a further modification to immigration regulations with a selection system that gave more emphasis to educational level, work experience, and occupational demand (Li, 2003), and a new Immigration Act in 1985 started to include business immigrants, such as entrepreneurs, self-employed persons, and investors (Privy Council 1985-3246). The adoption of The Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 highlighted the principle that all individuals, regardless of race and ethnic background, are entitled to

equality and fair treatment (Statutes of Canada, 1982, c.11, s.15.1). The fourth period after WWII was at the turn of the 21st century, and the Immigration Act in this period clearly set out regulations to distinguish between immigration and refugee protection (Li, 2003). Therefore, each of the four historical periods was featured with a particular type of immigrants that Canada preferred to admit at the time.

One general feature of immigration policy after WWII is that the overall level of immigration has depended on the overall economic situation within Canada. For example, as Hawkins argued, when the unemployment rate remained low, higher levels of immigration were allowed; but when the unemployment rates rose, the accepted numbers of immigrants were largely reduced (Hawkins, 1988). A thorough review of immigration policy in the 1970s suggests that Canada's immigration is featured with a "tap on, tap off" system (Veugelers and Klassen, 1994: 352). The revisions in 1979 began to set up annual immigration target levels to affect the flow (ibid). However, immigration targets were ignored again when unemployment worsened in the first half of the 1980s. For example, when the unemployment rate climbed to 11 percent in 1982 and 11.9 percent in 1983, the immigration targets set for these two years were 135,000 and 110,000 separately. The real number of immigrants admitted in 1982 and 1983 decreased to 121,000 and 89,000, which were 10.4 percent and 19 percent below the target levels (Veugelers and Klassen, 1994: 360; Beaujot, 1991: 90-91). Based on Veugelers and Klassen's analysis of postwar immigration and unemployment linkage (1994: 351-369), variation in unemployment rates strongly affected the numbers of immigrants allowed into Canada after 1946. Yet, a short-term immigration target was set in 1979 based on labour market and demographic conditions; the findings of the analysis indicate that unemployment and immigration levels were not uncoupled when targets were put in place. Although Veugelers and Klassen's research

analyses the influence of unemployment fluctuation on the immigration levels until 1993, it proves the unemployment-immigration linkage.

Another general feature of immigration regulations after WWII is that the development of immigration policies indicates a gradual removal of the blatant racism towards racialized immigrant groups from the policy. One improvement in the Canadian immigration regulations in the post-WWII period happened in the 1960s when national and racial characteristics as grounds for admission were removed, and educational and occupational skills were chosen as selection criteria for admitting immigrants. As a result of this major change in immigration policy, there was a decline in the volume and proportion of European immigrants to Canada and an emergence of "visible minorities" in the country (Li, 2003: 31-36). For example, according to Li's research on this policy change, Canada admitted about 1.2 million immigrants to Canada from 1946 to 1955, and about 87 per cent of them were from Europe; from 1956 to 1967, Canada admitted 1.7 million immigrants, and 79 per cent were from Europe; from 1968 to 1978, European immigrants admitted to Canada declined to 44 per cent of the total 1.7 million immigrants admitted during this period; and from 1979 to 2000, the number of European immigrants fell to 23 per cent of the total 3.7 million immigrants admitted (Li, 2003: 31-32). On the other hand, the admission of non-white immigrants increased after 1967. Immigrants from Asia, Africa, and other non-traditional sources made up more than half the total number of admitted immigrants to Canada throughout the 1980s and 1990s (ibid: 33).

The increase in the number of non-white immigrants in Canada aroused many discussions in society. As Li argues, "the changing racial origin of new immigrants to Canada opens up another dimension in the immigration debate, which is related to cultural and racial diversity of immigrants and to how native-born Canadians react to such diversity" (2003: 37). However, the

enactment of the Multiculturalism Act in 1988 provided legislative grounds for equal treatment and non-discrimination of non-white immigrants. The Act strongly discouraged explicit references to immigration discourse in Canada.

In this research, newspaper discussions on immigration provide an important reference point for examining how race is discussed and how racial ideas are reinforced under different economic, social and political situations. In general, in the post-WWII context, the media representations of non-white immigrants over time illustrate how minority groups are discriminated. In particular, the research argues that economic circumstances in conjunction with other social and political affairs all influence the exclusion and inclusion of groups of immigrants. For example, news discussions on immigration tend to blame immigrants in general for job competitions in high unemployment times. But when the unemployment rate drops down, news discussions on immigration often shift their attentions to Canada's national identity and "cultural insecurity." The discourse usually blames non-white immigrants for assuming that their racial characteristics affect Canada's ethnic and cultural unity. In this way, national economic situations influence Canada's social boundary of exclusion. Therefore, the major task of this research is to analyze how particular immigrant groups have been discursively constructed under different economic, social and political situations in each historical phase.

1.2 Conclusion

In summary, the purpose of this thesis is to examine the ways in which descriptions of immigrants to Canada in The Globe and Mail have changed at particular times since WWII. The research scrutinizes how the content, structure, and tone of Canada's news portrayal of immigration are constructed according to the fluctuation of unemployment levels in each phase after WWII. In general, the overall attitude toward types of immigrants and levels of immigrants that are accepted to Canada depends on how much benefits they are deemed to bring but with

less cost to the society. However, the fundamental stereotyped prejudice toward non-white immigrants, which is based on their racial characteristics, hardly changes.

My research shows that under particular economic conditions, a different sense of threat is created in relation to non-white immigrants. This sense is rooted in a view premised on an assumption that the racial differences of non-white immigrants would undermine Canada's cultural and ethnic unity. Using the findings of this thesis, I argue that non-white immigrants are historically constructed as "other" by both government regulations and the public. In this context, both the media and the general public exclude non-white immigrants directly from Canada's white society based on the fear that the racial difference of non-white immigrants may undermine the European tradition of Canada. Of course, this explicitly racist idea is not acceptable in a democratic country like Canada that advocates equality and non-discrimination. However, in a high unemployment environment, covert racism is often expressed in the media discourse. The racial message is usually normalized and legitimized from the media report on opinion polls with topics that intend to find out what Canadians think about immigration when the unemployment rate remains high. Therefore, cases of media discussions on immigration under different economic situations provide examples of how social boundaries of exclusion can be reconstituted in the context of a social and economic crisis.

CHAPTER 2
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The theoretical framework I use in this study is informed by a body of research that uses Critical Discourse Analysis to deconstruct dominant social discourses on race and immigration. One central theoretical concept is the notion of *racialized discourse*. Besides Robert Miles's historical investigation of racism in political and economic relations in concrete social formations (1989) and Michel Foucault's discourse theory (1972), there are two groups of research work which also enlighten this study. The first group of research work includes Teun A. van Dijk (1987, 1993, 2000) and Mark Lawrence Mcphail's (1994) analysis of racialized discourse in general. The second group of research work includes the work of Canadian scholars, Henry, Tator, Mattis, and Rees (2000), Henry and Tator (2002), and Li (2001, 2003, 2007). Their research provides a theoretical focus that examines the racial subtext in Canada's immigration discourse. My research question is to discover whether the economic environment affects social boundaries of exclusion and how the fluctuation of economic conditions makes blatant racial messages socially acceptable. I hope this research can help to explain why the specific racial discourse has changed in each historical period of Canada's immigration history.

In this chapter, the analysis includes four parts. In the first part, I introduce the concepts of *discourse* and *immigration discourse*, and the main features of a discourse. The second part details a comprehensive literature review that illustrates how previous researchers have used these concepts in the analyses of racialized discourse in general as well as in the Canadian context. In the third part, I raise a theoretical question that examines how economic environment has influenced the public discourse on immigration. The fourth part is a summary.

2.2 Theoretical Concepts

2.2.1 Discourse

Several major concepts are often used to uncover and explain the underlying message inherent in discourses on race, ethnicity and immigration. Three concepts are most relevant to my study: *racialized discourse*, *racism*, and *racialization*. They form the basis of my theoretical framework and help to build the interpretive context of my analysis. Before outlining how these concepts are used in the literature, I will define each concept and explain its relevance to this study.

2.2.2 Definition of discourse

2.2.2.1 Foucault's definition

Many theorists (cf. Benveniste, 1971; Crystal, 1987; Hawthorn, 1992) discuss the term discourse, seeking to clarify the definition of discourse from a series of terms: text, sentence, and ideology (Mills, 1997). According to Michel Foucault (1972: 80-81), the word discourse means the general domain of all statements, or a group of statements with a similar focus. The set of statements usually have some institutionalized force, which has a deep influence on the way individuals act and think. Based on Mills's study on discourse (1997), there are three definitions explained by Foucault regarding the concept of discourse. The first definition is what Foucault called "the general domain of all statements", which means "all utterances or texts which have meaning and which have some effects in the real world count as discourse" (Mills, 1997:7). The second definition by Foucault is "an individualizable group of statements", which means "groups of utterances that are regulated in some way and seem to have a coherence and a force in common" (ibid). According to Mills (1997), this second definition of discourse is often used by Foucault when he discusses structures within discourse. The third definition of discourse is described by Foucault as "a regulated practice, which accounts for a number of statements". In

this definition, Foucault emphasizes the rules and structures that produce particular statements (Mills, 1997: 7). Foucault's second and third definitions of discourse get the most resonances from other theorists (Benveniste, 1971; Hawthorn, 1992; Mills, 1997). In short, there are usually three contexts in which the meanings of discourse are developed: in cultural theory, in linguistics and in critical linguistics/social psychology.

2.2.2.2 Developed by other theorists

In cultural theory, discourse is treated as the general domain of the production and circulation of institutional statements (Macdonnel, 1986). It means that a discourse is not a simple collection of different statements, but includes "statements which are enacted within a social context, and are determined by that social context" (ibid: 2). In other words, discourses are not simple groupings of statements, but consist of statements that have meaning, force and effect within a social context. Therefore, "institutions and social context play an important determining role in the development, maintenance and circulation of discourses" (Mills, 1997: 11). Another perspective of discourse, which cultural theorists adopt, is to consider discourses as "being organized around practices of exclusion" (Mills, 1997:12). What has been excluded from a discourse seems self-evident and natural. Therefore, to question the naturalization of the dominant discursive structures of a discourse has been one of the major tasks of cultural theorists.

For some theorists in mainstream linguistics, discourse needs to be understood as language in use (Brown and Yule, 1983). For other linguists, discourse is an extended piece of text that has some forms of internal organization, coherence or cohesion (Carter and Simpson, 1989). According to Mills, mainstream linguists define discourse through the contexts of statements. She suggests that "the contexts of production of texts will determine the internal constituents of the specific texts produced" (Mills, 1997: 9).

One theorist whose work is especially important and useful in discussion of discourse is the Marxist linguist Michel Pecheus. According to Mills (1997), Michel Pecheus "analyses the meanings of words and their relations to larger social structures without assuming that words and sentences have a meaning in themselves" (Mills, 1997: 13). Pecheus also suggests that ideological struggle is the essence of discourse structure (Pecheus, 1982). For example, statements of a discourse might have their position, but the discourse is always "in dialogue and in conflict with other positions" (Mills, 1997:14). So discourses do not exist in isolation, but are the object and site of struggle (Pecheus, 1982). In this sense, discourses "are not fixed but are the site of constant contestation of meaning" (Mills, 1997:16). Further, as also concluded by Sara Mills in her study on discourse, Pecheus makes a useful addition to Foucault's work in that he also considers the question of groups of people's access to discourse (Mills, 1997:14). For example, he is concerned with people who are not privileged within a class system, such as those who are lacking access to education, knowledge and familiarity with information networks and capital and are usually prevented from having access to discourses (Mills, 1997: 14-16).

Social psychologists and critical linguists, on the other hand, are concerned with power relations in a discourse (Wetherell and Potter, 1992; Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1995). Specifically, critical linguist Norman Fairclough discusses power relations and the production of a discourse. He provides a model to explain how a discourse functions in a society and how it affects its participants (Fairclough, 1992). Among other critical linguists, John Fiske (1994) challenges the concept of language as an abstract system. He examines the structural systems of discourse under particular historical, social, and political conditions (ibid). In this regard, discourse is "how language is used socially to convey broad historical meanings" (Tator & Henry, 2006:34). In other words, to understand a discourse, we need to understand the broader

social conditions in which certain language has been used and who has been using it (ibid). Further, according to van Dijk (1988), language can never be neutral, for it is always positioned within a context of particular sets of power relations of a society. Also, as Tator and Henry state, "language can hardly be entirely free from the socio-cultural influences and economic interests in which it has been produced and disseminated" (2006: 34).

Based on the above discussions on definitions of discourse, it can be concluded that a discourse is not just a simple collection of statements but groupings of utterances, sentences, or statements which are enacted within a social context. A discourse is determined by the social context, and it also helps the existence of that social context (Mills, 1997). Thus, the institutional nature of discourse and its situation in the society are central to all different perspectives on discourse. There are several features of discourse used by researchers who adopt discourse theory to explain and uncover the underlying meanings inherent in discourses on race, ethnicity and immigration.

2.2.3 Important features of discourse

2.2.3.1 Discursive structures: construct "reality"

Based on the above explanations of the concept of discourse, a study of discourse is not just an analysis of statements, but it also needs a thorough understanding of the structures and rules of the discourse. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), Foucault argues that an analysis of the structures of discourse is not meant to uncover the truth or the origin of a statement but to discover the support mechanism that keeps it in place. He suggests that discourses construct our sense of reality, and the way that discourses can inform the extent to which we can think and act is quite limited by the discursive constraints at each historical period (Foucault, 1977). In other words, our perception of objects is usually formed within the limits of discursive constraints (Mills, 1997:51). The delimitation of discursive structure pertaining to a discourse is reflected in

at least three ways. The first way is that discourse makes "a narrowing of one's field of vision, which will exclude a wide range of phenomena from being considered as real or as worthy of attention, or as even existing" (Mills, 1997: 51). The second is that discourse is closely linked to questions of authority and legitimacy. For example, in order for a discourse to be called into existence, a person has to establish a right to speak. The last way is that each statement is somehow embedded within the possible ways in which future statements can be made (ibid).

Of course, Foucault's idea of how discourse can construct reality does not mean denying the objectivity of reality. Rather, Foucault suggests the only way we can understand reality is through discourse and discursive structures (Foucault, 1972). This is because in the process of understanding, "we categorize and interpret experience and events according to the structures available to us and in turn, in the process of interpretation, we lend these structures a solidity and a normality which make the discourse circulated successfully" (Mills, 1997:54). For this reason, discourse can "construct certain events and sequences of events into narratives which are recognized by a particular culture as real or serious events" (Mills, 1997: 53).

2.2.3.2 The statement and episteme: elements of discourse

Foucault's discourse theory is also concerned with the systems of support that control the production and the ordering of statements. The systems exclude other "utterance" from the position of being "true" and therefore classify utterance with truth claimed as statements (Mills, 1997: 61). Foucault is less interested in statements themselves in a discourse than in the way that statements coalesce into discourses or discursive formations (ibid). He suggests that "all statements are determined by certain institutional pressures" (Mills, 1997: 62). Therefore, a set of statements that have similar institutional force can become a discourse, and thus they can influence the way individuals act and think (ibid).

Epistemes are usually constructed from sets of statements grouped into different discourses or discursive frameworks. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), Foucault explains that an episteme consists of discursive structures that come about as a result of the interaction of the range of discourses circulated and authorised at a particular time period (ibid). In this way, Foucault shows that within a certain time period, people can construct thinking about a subject in a particular way with certain procedures, and they can also find supports for such thinking (Foucault, 1972: 92-100). So an episteme includes "the range of methodologies which a culture draws on as self-evident in order to be able to think about certain subjects" (Mills, 1997: 57).

2.2.3.3 Exclusion: create 'knowledge'

Discourse is also characterized by its exclusion of "what we can say and what we can consider as legitimate knowledge" (Mills, 1997: 63). In the article "The Order of Discourse" (1981), Foucault discusses types of exclusion and the ways that operate on discourse to limit what can be said and what can be counted as knowledge. The first type of exclusion Foucault calls "prohibition" or "taboo". He explains that the procedures of this type of exclusion are simply a discursive and institutional limitation that becomes habitual within particular cultures at certain periods (Foucault, 1981:52-53). Therefore once a subject is tabooed, any claims made accordingly within this discourse can become self-evident. This is especially evident in immigration discourse. For example, by the first decade of the twentieth century, Asians and other non-white immigrants were seen in Canada as unlikely to assimilate because of their phenotypical racial character and cultural difference (Li, 2003: 19). The immigration policy before WWII excluded those from Asia and especially China (Li, 1998, 2003). Thus, under the widely accepted understanding of whom the undesirable immigrants were, claims made about

those undesirable immigrants in the immigration discourse of this period became justified and socially accepted. Another type of exclusion maps out what can be counted as a statement. According to Foucault (1981), the discursive framework in a discourse is in fact the division between knowledge perceived to be true and which is considered to be false. He argues that "the content of a statement is no guarantee of its being true; rather, the circumstances under which it was said were of prime importance" (Foucault, 1981:54). The last type of exclusion is that people who lack education, or are not familiar with certain knowledge with information networks, or have other disabilities, are somehow excluded from a discourse. In this regard, exclusion is in fact one of the most important ways in which discourse is produced.

2.2.3.4 Internal Mechanism: circulation of discourses

Internal mechanism is also an important feature of discourse, which keeps certain discourses in existence. According to Foucault, "the first mechanism is commentary" (1981: 58). For example, discourses that are commented upon by others are the discourses that people would like to consider to have validity and worth (Foucault, 1981: 57-58). Another internal mechanism of discourse is the academic discipline (Foucault, 1981). According to Mills' research on discourse, this internal regulator of discourse is "a broader discursive grouping which determines what can be said and regarded as facts or truth within a given domain" (Mills, 1997: 69). Thus, each discipline will determine "what methods, forms of arguments, and domain of objects will be considered to be true" (ibid). So this mechanism of discourse allows for new arguments to be articulated. But the new arguments also have to obey certain discursive limits (Mills, 1997: 69-70).

2.2.4 Immigration Discourse

Immigration discourse includes immigration-related debates and discussions. It has its own support mechanism to assert statements as right and legal; it also has certain inclusion and exclusion procedures; and its internal mechanism keeps the discourse in circulation and existence. In this study, I adopt the concept of *immigration discourse* to study Canada's immigration debates in the newspaper. According to Li (2001: 81), there has been constant public interest in and media attention on immigration in Canada. The immigration discourse in Canada has a rationale of its own: "it operates on many assumptions that appear to be self-evident, and also allows normative values and cultural preferences to influence their interpretations" (Li, 2003: 163). Li examines racial subtext in Canada's immigration discourse, such as immigration policy development, public discourse including opinion polls and media reports, and academic research (Li, 2001). He concludes that "Canada's immigration discourse is an outgrowth of the government's interest in involving the public in major policy decisions" (Li, 2001: 81). Thus, the major participants in the immigration discourse include politicians, government officials, academics, community groups, and individual citizens, and their views are often articulated as public opinion, discussions, debates, academic writings, and media reports about issues of immigration.

The immigration debate frequently focuses on immigrants and their social and economic features, such as their earning capacity, educational qualifications, and cultural values. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of Sociology*, immigration involves "the permanent movement of individuals or groups across symbolic or political boundaries into new residential areas and communities" (2005: 410). So the word *immigrants*, in Canadian public discourse, basically refers to those who have migrated to Canada from other countries. However, a discursive understanding of immigrants involves conceptualizing this term as a social

construction. It means that the groups of people who would be considered as immigrants in the discourse are about to change in different historical periods, and the real content of what people are viewed as immigrants depends on how the receiving society evaluates them in different historical times (Li, 2003). For example, with the growth of non-white immigrants in Canada after the 1960s, the term *immigrants* has been increasingly used to refer to newcomers with a different racial and cultural background (Li, 2003: 44-46). This point is also made by Kobayashi and Peake: "popular conception of immigrants refers to people of colour who come from 'Third World' countries, who do not speak fluent English and who occupy lower positions in the occupational hierarchy. White, middle-class professionals from British or the United States are not commonly perceived as 'immigrants'" (Kobayashi and Peake, 1997: 7; Li, 2003: 44).

According to Foucault (1972), one way to deconstruct discourse is to regard it as language used in the process of knowledge construction, which involves, for example, an understanding of certain terminologies, accepted assumptions, and the rationale that can make sense of social practices and social phenomena. Therefore, the deconstruction of the immigration discourse includes understanding the way that different ethnic groups of immigrants are articulated, such as the use of any coded language or specific terminologies, or the application of rules of exclusion to some immigrant groups.

2.2.5 Racism and racialization

According to Miles (1989), the concept of *racism* is employed exclusively with reference to a theory of *race*. The idea of *race* first appeared in the early seventeenth century and began to be used in scientific writing in the late eighteenth century in order to explain phenotypical differences, especially skin colour, between human beings (Miles, 1993: 27-34). Although this theory of race has been criticized in the early twentieth century (Miles, 1993: 28), the word *race* continues to be used in the everyday discourse to refer to biological differentiations (Miles, 1989:

70). However, the facts of the biological differentiation are indeed secondary to the meaning attributed to them, which can be referred to as "imagined biological differentiation" (ibid). Miles calls the representational process by which meanings are attributed to particular objects and biological features as *signification* (Miles, 1989). In Miles's viewpoint, through the process of signification, certain objects, processes and biological features are embodied within "a set of additional features" (Miles, 1989: 70). According to Miles (1989: 70-71) and Potter and Wetherall (1987: 24-28), signification involves selecting from a range of features, certain features to convey additional meanings that are usually hypothesised or lack scientific support. In fact, the basis of selection is highly influenced by historical and cultural circumstances (Miles, 1989: 70-71). For example, the use of race is the result of the process of signification whereby certain biological characteristics of people are given meanings and are used to classify them into groups or different races. In Europe and North America, a biological feature such as skin colour is usually selected from the range of somatic features as the primary feature by which the "other group" is created (Banton, 1998; Miles, 1989). Further, besides physical features, certain cultural characteristics are also attributed to people. Gradually, some phenotypical characteristics of certain groups of people are connected with some of their fixed cultural characteristics. The fact that only certain physical characteristics have been signified to define races indicates that race has been socially constructed.

Miles also argues that the signification of phenotypical features is not "simply representational but is also a means to effect exclusionary practices" (1989: 72). Thus, the result of signification is to create inequality between different racial groups. Marxist theorists also look into how different races interact with one another, and named it as "race relations" (Miles 1982:

22-43). They also incorporate the idea of race as an analytical concept into their explanations about racism (Miles, 1993: 29).

According to Miles (1989), *racism* refers to ideas that delineate group boundaries based on real or alleged biological characteristics and attribute other negatively evaluated characteristics to groups so racialized. Historically, Canada has maintained discriminatory policies and practices towards people of certain racial origins, with the result that the racial origin of members of such groups and their social conditions has become inseparable in defining the meaning of race (Li, 1998: 117). In this way, race is given social importance in that it provides the grounds for segregating people. The presence of the discourse of race is a precondition of racism (Miles, 1989:69). Racism, according to Li's research on racial subtext in immigration discourse, "involves an ideology that advocates a hierarchy of superiority premised upon what are believed to be genetically and culturally constituted races" (Li, 2001: 79), and it also implies a system of categorization by attributing meanings to certain phenotypical features of human beings (Miles, 1989; Li, 1998; Satzewich, 1998). Of course, many scholars have pointed out that there is a lack of scientific basis to justify using superficial features such as skin colour to categorize people lacks scientific justification (Rex, 1970: 1; Miles, 1998:41; Bolaria and Li, 1988: 14-25). But the production and existence of racism indicate "unequal relationships between a dominant group and a subordinate group in the process of the latter being racialized" (Li, 1994: 15). Li also suggests that, "from the vantage point of the dominant group, the social construction of race produces both a social boundary of exclusion and a common ground of identity" (ibid). These scholars convincingly suggest that racial signification is socially constructed.

In Canada today, racism is usually articulated in a subtle way because it is not accepted in a democratic society where many Canadians take pride in liberal democratic values such as justice, equality, and fairness. On the other hand, although the construction of race is not also scientifically grounded, this does not mean that racism has vanished in modern Canada. Although liberal democracy and racism are contradictory, Li argues that racial discourse allows these contradictory principles to co-exist comfortably (Li, 2007). Henry, Tator, Mattis, and Rees (2000) name this type of racism as "democratic racism", a form that highlights how racist ideas can be justified in a democratic society as racial myths and stereotypes without disturbing the principles of liberal democracy. In particular, as Li argues, "the significance of race in a democratic society can be articulated in codified language that sanctifies what otherwise would be unholy racial messages and transforms them into noble concerns of citizens that become acceptable and even appealing to majority members" (2001:78). However, the expressions, forms and targets of racism may vary on the basis of historical, social and economic conditions, because "ideological reproduction is a consequence of the transactions between historical legacy and individual and collective attempts to make sense of the world" (Miles, 1989: 84). Li's case study of "monster house" in Vancouver provides an example that the expressions and forms of racism are subject to change according to specific contexts and social forces (Li, 1994). Therefore, a racial discourse is likely to be reconstituted if it suits a new context of circumstances. In turn, the specific content and articulations of racism should also be expected to change contextually.

To illustrate the process behind the changing appearances of racism, it is important to understand the concept of racialization. According to Miles, racialization refers to "those instances where social relations between people have been structured by the signification of

human biological characteristics in such a way as to define and construct differentiated social collectivities" (1998:75). It highlights the social process of attributing social significance to phenotypical features of people and designating those so signified as racial (Miles, 1989; Li, 1998; Satzewich 1998). A process of racialization can also occur even in the specific absence of the term *race* (Satzewich, 1998: 32). Therefore, even though a discourse sometimes may not contain references to the term *race*, for example, it will include some emphasis on cultural and religious characteristics as the basis of race differences. Nevertheless, a process of signification of physical, cultural, and ethnic differences can also be counted as racialization. According to Li (2001:78) "one result of racialization is to provide a normative coherence for people to organize and to interpret at least some of their experiences. And at the more extreme level, racialization can provide grounds for unequal treatment, as well as a rationale for justifying inequality". Over time, racialization systematically pairs superficial features of people with social characteristics of so-marked minority groups. Consequently, racialization, or social construction of race, produces one possible outcome in Canadian society: there is a social ordering of races, which is manifested in Canadians' views of which groups are socially desirable or undesirable according to racial origin (Li, 1998: 115).

2.3 Racialized Discourse

Racialized discourse in Canada is an elusive concept because it is often hidden within mythical norms that define "Canadian-ness" as white, male, heterosexual, Christian, and English speaking (Mackey, 1996). According to Henry and Tator, racialized discourse refers to "language and practices which give voices to racism" (1999: 91). So one way to analyze the construct of racism in a society is to examine the racialized discourse (Fiske, 1994).

Racialized discourse is usually embedded with racial subtext, which serves to communicate "deep and powerful meanings about people of colour and to construct forms of

social practices" (Henry and Tator, 2002: 91). Also, as Fiske observes: "There is a discourse of racism that advances the interests of whites and that has an identifiable repertoire of words, images and practices through which racial power is applied" (Fiske, 1994:5).

In a democratic country like Canada, public discussions and debates do not have to mention race, but through a communicative process, which involves implicit meanings and subtext, the discourse can become racialized. For example, Henry and Tator (2002) refer to the racialization of crime to illustrate a tendency that mass media repeatedly associate crime with black people. In their discussion, the unrelated issues of crime and race become linked in the media discourse so that criminal activity is gradually understood to be an expression of black culture (Henry et al. 2000; Henry and Tator, 2002). Another historical analysis of representations of aboriginal people in the Canadian news media in the 1990s found aboriginal people to be repeatedly described as "emotional" and "violent" (Harding, 2006). In such a way, aboriginal people were stereotyped and framed in the press as a threat to the white Canadians (Harding, 2006: 205). Li's research on Canada's immigration discourse (2001) also shows that Canadian public discourse on immigration is racialized in the sense that it often imputes latent implications and evaluations to the racial backgrounds of immigrants. For example, Li examines how the racial message in the immigration discourse is formalized and legitimized in opinion polls and media reports, and he points out that Canadians are often asked to indicate their "racial preference" of immigrants and to assess their "degree of comfort" in accepting newcomers from different ethnic origins (Li, 2003: 203). He notes, "It is difficult to segregate the immigration debate from the race question, since the 'colour' of immigrants becomes a key component of the discourse even though it is articulated subtly and indirectly" (2003:171). Through the process of racialization, immigrants are assigned socially imputed values on the basis of race and ethnicity.

One key feature of racialized discourse is that it often creates an "us vs. them" dichotomy in representing the dominant group and ethnic minorities in the discourse. The dominant group is often represented positively, while ethnic minorities are usually misrepresented (van Dijk, 2000: 98). Since media and language transmit social values, such discursive representations gradually shape social beliefs and perceptions of other groups (Broda, 2005:20). Also as Henry and Tator suggest, "it is through the discursive process of racialization that ethno-racial populations are frequently categorized, constructed, though inferior, and marginalized" (2002: 248). In other words, this process helps to establish and maintain inequality.

2.3.1 Analyses of Racialized Discourse in General

Many scholars have used the concept of racialized discourse to study immigration discourse in Canada (Fiske, 1994; Henry et al. 2000; Henry and Tator, 2006; Hier and Greenberg 2002; Li, 2001, 2003, 2007; Rosenfeld and Spina, 1997) as well as to study immigration discourse in other countries (van Dijk, 1987, 1993, 2000; McPhail, 1994). Among research on racial discourse in general, two theoretical perspectives are of relevance here. Teun A. van Dijk's work (1987; 1993; 2000) adopts critical discourse analysis to examine the connections between racism, ideology and communication in public debates on immigration and ethnic issues in Europe, the U.S., South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. He uses the notion of racialized discourse to explain that discourse is a main force in "reproducing systems of dominance and social inequality, such as 'racism' " (2000: 92). In *Elite Discourse and Racism* (1993), he analyses how racist ideology is produced and legitimized in Western countries through media, and how media reinforce the public anxiety over the threat of immigrants and racial minorities. He argues:

> The news media largely support the prevailing political attitudes on ethnic affairs and immigration. At the same time, they contribute to the public reproduction of the

> ideologies of the political and other elites by publishing scare stories or so-called in-depth reports about 'floods' or 'massive invasions' of refugees, 'illegal' immigrants, threat of Muslim fundamentalists ... (1993: 4)

The concept of racialized discourse, which is used by vanDijk in his research, is very helpful to understand how negative images and representations are transmitted through language and communication. The other perspective is represented by Mark Lawrence McPhail (1994) who focuses on the discourse on Black/White relations in the U.S. His work *The Rhetoric of Racism* (McPhail, 1994) aims to "unpack the relationship between language and racism by deconstructing the racial subtext inherent in some discourses, such as media discourse" (1994: 3). He argues that "racism is perpetuated by an antagonistic discourse grounded in the underlying assumption of negative difference" (ibid). Therefore, his suggestion to analyze racism is to "uncover and deconstruct the myths and misconceptions on which racism is based" (Broda, 2005: 26). His work especially looks into how media use rhetoric to transmit inequality and discrimination, but it does not account for the existence of racist discourse (Mcphail, 1994: 3-5).

2.3.2 Analyses of Racialized Discourse in the Canadian Context

Recently, more academic studies have focused on Canada's public discourse on immigration and race relations (Fiske, 1994; Henry et al. 2000; Henry and Tator, 2006; Hier and Greenberg 2002; Li, 2001, 2003; Rosenfeld and Spina, 1997). Each of these studies addresses different topics on immigration and racial relations, but they show how subtle racial ideologies are created, maintained and reinforced through public discourse on immigration in a democratic country like Canada. Among this rich Canadian-based literature, two theoretical perspectives are most relevant to my research: Henry and Tator's work (1999, 2000, 2002) and Li's work (2001, 2003, 2007).

Frances Henry and Carol Tator (2002) offer a theoretical framework that focuses on deconstructing racialized discourse. They analyze explanations, narratives, coded terms, biased images, and social practices that may "have an effect of establishing, sustaining, and reinforcing oppressive power relations", and attempt to reveal racial implications and assumptions in a discourse (2002: 16-21). In *Discourse of Domination* (2002), for example, Henry and Tator present a case study that reveals how news discourse in Canada, including *The National Post* and *The Globe and Mail*, use racialized language to express biased assumptions and spread misrepresentations that reinforce prejudices and negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities and immigrants.

Another contribution made by Henry and Tator is their consideration of other social discourses that might influence the public's negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities. For example, in *The Colour of Democracy* (Henry et al. 2000), they examine the broader racialized discourses. The *Discourse of Binary Polarization*, marks racialized groups as "other" and positions them not only outside of the "imagined community" of Canadian society, but also outside of the "imagined national identity" of Canada (ibid, 29). According to Henry et al., the subtext of these discourses is "almost invariably ethnic or racial exclusionism" (ibid). Therefore, racialized discourses reinforce biased ideas, practices and policies, and help them to become justified in societal belief and value systems.

Significantly, Henry, Tator, Mattis, and Rees (2000) analyze the conflict and tension between racist discourse and liberal democracy in Canada. They argue that the public lets the tension and conflict co-exist through democratic racism -- "an ideology that permits and sustains the ability to justify both egalitarian and discriminatory values" (Henry and Tator: 2002: 24). According to Henry and Tator, democratic racism can exist in Canadian society because "it

manifests itself in subtle ways and is largely invisible to those who are part of the dominant culture" (Henry and Tator, 2002: 23). For example, the language of democratic racism is usually covert, and prejudicial attitudes are often expressed in an indirect way, which makes it s not to be contradictory to the liberal democratic norms. Therefore, the theory of democratic racism shows that it is important to understand the subtle and underlying racial messages when examining a public discourse.

Peter Li's research (2001, 2003, 2007) focuses on deconstructing different racialized discourses in Canadian society. According to Li, "racist discourse assumes a gentle appearance in order to claim its legitimacy in a democratic society" (2001:78). Thus, an explanatory model is needed to deconstruct racialized discourse and uncover the underling racist ideologies. The challenge in uncovering racist ideologies in democratic society, he states, "is to explain how people attribute social significance to 'race' in everyday life when the law disallows, and norms discourage, the use of race as grounds to differentiate between people" (Li, 2007: 33). He applies this idea to several discourse analyses that study the public debates on immigration and ethnic minorities. For example, in *The Racial Subtext in Canada's Immigration Discourse* (2001), he analyzes different articulations of race even with subtle and elusive appearances by scrutinizing the vocabulary, syntax, structure, and implied rationale in government reports, academic research, and opinion polls on immigration. Overall, Li's research is important in terms of uncovering the subtle and covert expressions of racism, which are often tolerated in Canadian society (Broda, 2005:30).

The above analyses of racialized discourse in Canada and elsewhere provide a rich theoretical foundation to my study. But these works do not examine racialized discourse over an extended historical period in order to examine how such discourse may change under different

historical conditions. In other words, do different economic and social conditions in different historical periods influence the expressions of racism in Canadian society? For this reason, I will discuss this gap in the literature and describe the theoretical focus I am taking to examine immigration discourses after WWII.

2.4 Theoretical Question

Henry and Tator (2002), and Li (2001, 2003, 2004) study race and immigration discourse in Canada. They examine how racism can exist in a democratic society like Canada. To explain this issue, Henry and Tator introduce the term democratic racism to suggest that Canadians have adopted an ideology that allows the competing value systems of liberal democracy and racial and ethnic exclusion co-exist in the society (Henry et al. 2000). Therefore, racism in Canada is typically expressed through codified language of racialized discourse because liberal democratic norms prohibit overt discrimination based on race or ethnicity.

Certainly, the concept of democratic racism helps to explain the way racialized language is typically voiced. However, it does not account for how expressions of racialized language might change under different social and economic circumstances. Given this limitation, I raise my theoretical questions as follows: Are there certain circumstances under which the ongoing liberal democratic constraints against racism are relaxed, thereby making racist discourse more overt? Are there certain situations in which the boundaries of liberal democracy are changed so that expressions of racism that are rejected in other historical situations can be made more socially acceptable?

In this thesis, I argue that some extreme economic, social and political circumstances in a society, such as high unemployment situations, and some extreme social and political affairs, have provided the context within which certain societal principles as well as social values of liberal democracy have become relaxed. When the economy is weak, for example, when the

unemployment rate is high, or an social affairs such as SARS outbreak, discourse that produces racial and ethnic discrimination and exclusion can become self-justified in people's minds because many people are increasingly concerned about social and economic security. For this purpose, I use news discussions on immigration when the national unemployment rate was at its peak and bottom in four historical phases during the post-WWII period as a case in point to demonstrate how liberal democratic boundaries that guard against racism became ambiguous in the context of a social and economic crisis.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the theoretical framework of my thesis on Canada's immigration discourses after WWII. My analysis is rooted in the concept of racialized discourse, which has been used by previous researchers to theorize and analyze the racial subtext in debates on immigration and ethnic relations. Besides Focauldian discourse theory, this study is influenced by Robert Miles' (1982, 1989, 1993) historical investigations of racism in political and economic relations in concrete social formations. Teun A. van Dijk (1987, 1993, 2000) and Mark Lawrence McPhail (1994) examine racial discourse in general. Both of them look into the linkage between language and racism. Their research provides insight into how media and other realms of society use rhetoric to produce and perpetuate inequality and discrimination. Frances Henry and Carol Tator (2002), and Peter Li (2001, 2003, 2007) examine how racism exists in public discourse as it comes to be embedded within other institutions of Canadian society. By introducing the concept of democratic racism, Henry et al. (2000) argue that racism is expressed through subtle discourse in a democratic society, which communicates underlying values of exclusion and intolerance regarding ethnic minorities in language without overriding democratic norms.

To demonstrate the process of racialization and how democratic values can change its boundaries, I analyze media discussions on immigration during periods in which unemployment rates were high and low. I argue that during periods which have a high unemployment rate, economic insecurity is reflected in discourses that establish boundaries on liberal democratic norms and values. Under these circumstance of economic and social uncertainty, people may become more inclined to articulate bold, exclusionary views under the pretext of safeguarding their national economy. In this way, this study suggests that democratic racism is a highly situational concept that only applies to a democratic society in which social and economic situations do not have much vibration. For example, when the economy is experiencing recession, normal liberal democratic constraints against racism are minimized and it becomes more socially acceptable to advocate racial discrimination and ethnic exclusion. In other words, in such a situation, expressing a racist idea with a subtle democratic language is not always required, and the public may show greater tolerance to direct discrimination.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This study is about Canada's media discourse on immigration as reported in the newspaper, *The Globe and Mail*, after WWII. The research focuses on how the content of the term *desirable immigrants* changed over four historical phases after WWII in Canada's immigration discourse. To clarify this issue, I ask three central questions: Does an economic recession have an effect on the public discussions on immigrants? If so, how are different immigrant groups attributed with certain images and how was the content of these images changed in the media discourse at different historical phases after WWII? And lastly, what do these changes of image that include or exclude groups of people into desirable immigrants in different historical periods, suggest about the boundaries of exclusion to certain ethnic groups of immigrants in Canada? For example, British and European immigrants were described as desirable immigrants in the first phase. Did the description of desirable immigrants change over the next three historical phases? What did the changes of exclusion or inclusion of any groups of immigrants within the term suggest about racial significations to the image of ethnic groups in each historical phase?

To explain these questions, I adopt a research design that employs both descriptive statistics and qualitative techniques, including frequency analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis. Specifically, the research focuses on newspaper articles on immigration during periods in which unemployment rates were at high and low levels in the post-WWII period. The purpose is to discover whether an economic situation, as indicated by unemployment rates, can influence the content of desirable immigrants. It is also to investigate whether an economic condition such as a high unemployment rate can loose liberal democratic constraints against the articulation of

racism so that it becomes socially acceptable to voice more blatant, explicitly racialized views in Canadian society.

This chapter includes the main methodological aspects that justify the rationale of this study and the principles and theories that have shaped the research. There are four sections in this chapter. The first section explains the research design, including the subject of study, data sources, the data collection procedure, the time frame and the method used to collect and analyze data. The second section outlines the analytical procedures. It consists of the quantitative techniques, for example, frequency analysis, and the qualitative techniques of Critical Discourse Analysis. The third section summarizes the strengths and limitations of this research design. The last section is a conclusion of this chapter.

3.2 Research Design

As shown in the research by vanDijk (1988, 1991, 1993), Henry and Tator (2002), and Hier and Greenberg (2002; 2002b), studies on discourse may use quantitive techniques to analyze general trends of data, but for the most part they usually adhere to a qualitative approach. For this reason, this study mainly uses a qualitative approach, Critical Discourse Analysis, to analyze the content, language and subtext of the newspaper articles in an in-depth way, and supplements it with a quantitative technique of frequency analysis to present general trends in the subject matter of news discourse.

3.2.1 Subject of Study

This study focuses on immigration discourse in the printed news media, using articles from *The Globe and Mail*. The notion of immigration discourse refers to debates on immigration and related topics, and it also encompasses government regulations, public discourse including opinion polls and media reports, and academic research on this issue. In this study, I concentrate specifically on news reports to discuss immigration discourse.

News media are one major transmitter of society's cultural standards, myths, values, and norms (vanDijk, 1993). Newspapers mainly serve as "a prime space for producing and disseminating knowledge, opinions and information" (Henry &Tator, 2002: 4). They collect information from a variety of sources, such as government activities, politicians' announcements, academic reports, reported opinion polls, crimes, disasters, and other daily happenings in a society. For these reasons, news coverage offers a wealth of information from which we can uncover public discussions, debates, attitudes, and sometimes divergent opinions about immigration.

However, news media do not just reflect social reality in the sense that they also employ techniques to shape news (Larson, 2006). According to Herman and Chomsky (1994), news media can construct reality by setting up a discursive space and shaping the content of news reports (Herman & Chomsky, 1994). Gans argues that newspapers actually decide what media events are newsworthy and how to report the news (Gans, 1980). According to Gans' study on major news programs and magazines in the U.S., all news events have a judgement of importance applied to them before they can be published in the newspaper (Gans, 1980: 123). Gans says that the level of importance is not only decided by the news content, but also by the newsworthiness of the sources themselves (1980: 145-1152). He suggests four categories of deciding importance based on the actors and activities in the news. The first is the actor's rank in governmental and other hierarchies. Gans argues that "the federal government and its activities are always important, and the higher an actor is in the governmental hierarchy, the more his or her activities are of importance" (1980: 147). The second is the impact on the nation and the national interest of activities. According to Gans' research, the audience is not particularly interested in foreign news, but they do react to any activities that harm the national interest

(1980:149). The third consideration is the impact on large numbers of people that activities have. Gans argues that the most important news story of all is one that "affects every person in a society" (1980: 151). The final evaluation category is the significance for the past and future the activities may have. News about the past is usually important because it reminds people of significant events. News about the future is also important because it is usually a prediction of future events based on current happenings. No newspaper publishers see their role solely as recorders of history, so they always assign their major task as being the first publication to inform the audience about something new and record-breaking events (1980:152). In this regard, they find it hard to select disadvantaged news sources because of this judgement of importance. For example, activities from groups with unpopular views and powerless populations usually become stories about social disorder when they do appear in news articles.

Moreover, Larson's (2006: 81-88) research on media and representations of minorities argues that "newspapers can control what information is included and how prominently it is covered". For example, news articles are usually given significance when they are published on the front page or in the editorials (2006: 81). Gans also suggests that editorials and commentary "tell the readers what they think is important, and hope the readers will feel the same way" (1980:182). Therefore, the locations of the news articles indicate how important the newspaper views the events to be. Larson's research also suggests that the news reporters or editors can frame stories with headlines or interpretative introductions to slant them (2006: 83-88). Therefore, "exclusion, stereotyping, and themes that mask racism and celebrate a dominant ideology are found in the news" (Larson, 2006: 81).

Another important function of news media is that they can influence public opinion and political decision making (Larson, 2006: 87). For most people, the mass media such as

newspapers provide "a crucial source of information and the beliefs and values from which readers can develop their pictures of their social world" (Henry & Tator, 2002: 5). Therefore, when stereotyped messages about immigration are repeated over time in the news media, they are gradually accepted by the public as common sense or general belief. On the other hand, news media can also be used to "help justify official policies of social control of racial and other minorities" (Shah and Thornton, 1994). For example, politicians often use news media as "an indicator of public opinions, leading them to certain decisions or justifications" (Larson, 2006: 87).

In this regard, news media do not simply report on current facts or public opinion, but also "filter, mediate and refract social discourses" (vanDijk 1993: 241). By moulding public attitude, shaping political agendas, and selecting what topics are important, news media play an important role in establishing the boundaries of public discourse. "It is within these boundaries that priorities are set and public agendas are established and perpetuated" (Henry & Tator, 2002: 23). In the context of race and immigration, news media frequently problematize racial minorities, expressing stereotypical ideas in the news articles (vanDijk 1991; Hall et al. 1978). Henry & Tator also argue that "racism is most evident in the press" (2002: 228). In this sense, because of the role that media can play in framing discourses and contributing to debates on emerging public issues, I have chosen to focus on media reports on immigration to trace and expose the racialized discourse on immigration and immigrant groups in Canadian society.

3.2.2 Data Sources

The data for this analysis were collected from news articles published in *The Globe and Mail*. As Canada's one major daily newspaper, *The Globe and Mail* has national readership. Articles and editorials in *The Globe and Mail* are frequently quoted or reprinted by other

newspapers or news channels. Therefore, the news coverage in *The Globe and Mail* offers a broad scope to analyse Canada's daily news reporting on the topic of immigration.

To access the newspaper articles, I used two online journal databases: The Globe and Mail: Canada's Heritage from 1844, which can locate articles from 1844 to 2009, and Factiva, which can locate the most current articles. These two databases allow searching by keywords or by date. I chose the keywords *immigration* and *immigrants* to locate all articles on this topic within a given period. This computer database keyword search helps the researcher to retrieve articles on the topic of immigration published in *The Globe and Mail* over a long historical range.

Both databases used for this study provide full-text searching results. I used the same keywords for each database to ensure consistency in the search results, which include information like publication date, page number, section and content. Beside searching by keywords, articles can also be sought by publication date or by section. This technique helps to locate articles from specific dates in history or to retrieve articles in different featured sections of the newspaper. In total, there are nine sections in *The Globe and Mail*: edition front page, news, reports on business, lifestyle, entertainment, opinion/editorials, sports, classified and advertisements, and births, deaths and marriages. In this research, articles with keywords "immigrants" and "immigration" are mainly found clustered in four sections: edition front page, news, reports on business, and opinion/editorials.

3.2.3 Time Frame and Sampling Criteria

The time frame for this study is the period after the end of WWII, from 1946 until 2012. Since it covers over 60 years, I further divided the period into four phases. Each phase represents a major immigration policy shift and the types of migrants who were favoured by Canada. The first phase lasted from 1946 to 1961, when Canada needed immigration to help the population growth. This phase was characterized by policies favouring British and European immigrants,

and restricting non-white immigrants, especially those from Asia and Africa (Kelley & Trebilcock, 1998; Li, 2003: 23). The second phase was from 1962 to 1978, when Canada needed more educated and skilled immigrants to help industrial expansion. This phase was characterized by a removal of racial discrimination in the immigration policy and replacement with a policy in favour of immigrants with educational, professional, and technical qualifications (Li, 2003: 23-26). The third phase was from 1979 to 1994, when Canada sought immigrants with more social and human capital. This phase also emphasized the need for Canada to have skilled immigrants and it was characterized by an admission of entrepreneurs and self-employed immigrants without being assessed on the basis of educational level and occupational demand (Li, 2003: 26-31). The last phase extended from 1995 to 2012. This phase clearly distinguished between immigration and refugee protection, and focused on framing immigration in terms of Canada's benefits and its social and cultural boundaries (Kelly & Trebilcock, 1998). Since each phase covered about 15 years, I selected sample years based on the rise and fall of the unemployment rate in each phase. The reason for this is that the news articles show great concern over higher levels of immigration whenever unemployment was high (c.f. *The Globe and Mail*, September 6, 1951; February 25, 1961; August 22, 1983; April 22, 1999), so the rise and fall of unemployment rates may have some effect on the discussions about immigrants within news discourse. The years selected are two years with the highest unemployment rates and two years with the lowest unemployment rates in each phase. Articles from these years can demonstrate how discussions on immigration become changed under these conditions.

3.2.4 Method

In this study, both quantitative and qualitative methods of inquiry are adopted. First, a frequency analysis was used to get a general idea of the overall subject matter on immigration and to detect potential changes in news content in each historical phase. Then, the method of

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was adopted to analyze and interpret the specific content of news articles.

CDA is one branch of discourse analysis that is primarily concerned with the form or the content of discourse. However, it is not merely applied to understand the content, but to interpret the meaning behind the words and analyze the deeper purpose of the material, or what is also called subtext. According to Fairclough (1992), discourse is socially constructive, so it includes social subjects, social relations, and systems of knowledge and belief. In this regard, the study of discourse is to understand its constructive ideological effects. On the other hand, Fairclough (1989) argues that discourse analysis is also concerned with power relations in discourse, especially how power relations and struggles shape and transform the discourse practices.

Critical Discourse Analysis mainly focuses on language use and communication in the context of cultural production (van Dijk, 1991; Wetherell and Potter, 1992; Fairclough, 1992). As Fairclough and Wodak describe, "CDA analyses real and often extended instances of social interaction which take a full or partial linguistic form" (1997: 258). So this method involves understanding the underlying meaning in different forms of communication, and deconstructing ideologies and power relations through investigation of language and text (Wodack, 2004).

According to Fairclough (1995), and Faircough and Wodak (1997), the critical approach of CDA is distinct from traditional methods of content analysis in two ways: firstly, CDA views discourse as a form of social practice, so it focuses on the ways that social and political domination are reproduced through text (Fairclough, 1995). Secondly, CDA is primarily interested in the relationship between analysis and the practices analyzed (Fairclough and Wodak, 258-259). For example, both discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis focus on dominance and inequality, but CDA also concentrates on a dialectical relationship between the

discursive event and "the situation(s), institutions and social structure (s) which frame it" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 271). So CDA especially describes "how the dominance and inequality are shaped by situations, institutions and social structures, and also how these practices shape them" (ibid). In this regard, CDA can help to uncover the sociocultural contexts of text as well as societal norms and values (Fairclough, 1992).

Moreover, as Kress (1990) argues, the methodology of CDA is originally informed by the desire to challenge the taken-for-granted assumptions in a discourse and to uncover the underlying power relations. This feature of CDA that examines social structure and the social context of a discourse can identify social, economic, and historical power relations between dominant and subordinate groups, and deconstruct the racist ideologies of the mass media (Dellinger, 1995). Therefore, CDA has the capacity to influence social change. CDA can be used to change discursive frameworks and reconstitute social practices in a sense that it provides a counterdiscourse and alternative ways of interpreting, understanding and interacting with the world (Wodack, 2004). As Li says, "it is in its ability to tackle the subtle articulation of race and racism that discourse analysis proves to be useful" (2001: 80). In this way, the methodology of CDA is very helpful in the study of Canada's media discourse on immigration.

In this study, I use both macro- and micro- levels of Critical Discourse Analysis. A macro-level approach focuses on the broader social, political, economic, and cultural contexts as well as their impact on the central themes, topics and argumentation of a text. This methodological approach is described by Wetherall and Potter (1992) who introduce what they call a "thematic mapping" of the news discourse (Wetherall and Potter, 1992; Heir & Greenberg 2002b; 497). Other scholars such as Heir and Greenberg (2002, 2002b) and Henry and Tator (2002) further apply this methodology in studying immigration discourse. These researchers use

this method of thematic analysis to investigate the "broad rhetorical strategies, central themes and topics and argumentative statements that the media use to racialize minorities" (Henry & Tator 2002: 72). A micro-level approach is introduced by vanDijk in some of his works (1993, 2001). This method focuses on examining the specific vocabulary and sentences, for example, the headline of the article, coded language and sentence structure of the text. He argues that these elements of language indeed create and reinforce the themes, images and biased attitude (1988). Therefore, I combine these two methods together in this study to analyze the news media discourse on immigration. The macro-level method highlights the overall discursive themes and the general images and ideologies created, while the micro-level method illustrates how these themes, images, and ideologies are constructed in the media text.

According to Li (2001), racists seldom openly admit being racists, and their messages are often presented in a disguised way to appear as not racist, but the underlying meanings are clear to participants in the discourse. Van Dijk introduces an analytic strategy to identify racist ideologies. He suggests that racist ideologies may be identified from six categories in the text (van Dijk, 2000: 97-98). The first category discusses about membership. For example, if an article mentions people by colour, race or nationality, e.g. "we white people", it can be identified as employing racist ideas in the article. The second category discusses about activities, such as certain racist practices or talks. For example, an article might talk negatively about minorities, discrimination, differentiation, exclusion, inferiorisation and problematisation etc. The third category discusses about goals. For example, if the purpose of the discussion in an article is about keeping immigrants or certain ethnic groups down and out, it can be identified as being racist. The fourth category discusses about values. For example, some articles emphasize the purity and priority of the own group. The fifth category discusses about positions, such as

naming some groups as superior and dominant over others. The last category discusses about resources. For instance, an article might talk about "our territory", space, nations, and white colour, and preferential access to all social resources.

3.3 Analytical Procedure

There are 1094 pieces of newspaper articles in total sorted out for analysis. They were all searched by keywords *immigrants* and *immigration*. The results include 239 articles for the first phase, 441 articles for the second phase, 181 articles for the third phase, and 233 articles for the fourth phase. All articles were initially coded using three categories: basic information coding, general information coding, and a list of word descriptions. Then a frequency analysis was used to sort the articles on the basis of the major theme. Finally, CDA was used to examine articles with themes that were more frequently discussed in detail in each phase.

3.3.1 Coding Scheme

In the coding process, I input all information from an article into a Microsoft Excel database based on three categories. The first category includes the basic information of the news article, which can help to locate each article in the database chronologically. There are two groups of basic information (see Table 3.1). The first group includes the publication year, month, and date of the news article. The second group includes the page location (whether the article was on the front page or not); section information (front page articles, editorials, letters to the editor, or news); and size of the articles (the exact number of words in the article). The page location and section information were coded separately since front page articles are usually considered the most important news because of their premium location (Bertrand & Hughes, 2005), while editorials and letters to the editor represent the newspaper's views on an issue and the public's ideas about that issue (ibid).

Table 3.1 Basic information for coding

Publication information	Year	The publication year of the article
	Month	The publication month of the article
	publication date	The exact publication date of the article
Newspaper information	Page location	Front page or not
	Section information	Front page articles; Editorials; Letters to the editor; News
	Size of the articles	The exact number of words in the article

The second category includes general information for a preliminary analysis of the news article (see Table 3.2). Under this category, three types of information were coded: general attitude to immigrants in the article, groups of immigrants discussed in the article, and themes of the article. The first type of information concentrates on the general attitude to immigrants. It includes positive attitude, negative attitude, neutral attitude, fearful attitude, and others. Within this type of information, positive attitude to immigrants refers to articles that welcome immigrants, ask for more immigrants and show support to the current immigration plan. Negative attitude refers to articles that suggest accepting fewer immigrants to Canada, or blame immigrants' education and skill level. Neutral attitude refers to articles that do not show any preference to either support or refuse immigrants, but neutrally report news events related to immigration. The second type of information is about groups of immigrants mentioned in the article. I divide them into seven genres. The classification of these seven genres is based on the newspaper's discussions. For example, news articles usually talk about British and Western European immigrants together, and treat them as the most favoured immigrants to Canada. And

many articles often talk about Italian, German, Dutch, Yugoslavian, Hungarian, Ukrainian and Jewish immigrants together as other Europeans. Moreover, some news articles talk about Asian immigrants in general, and some just focus on Chinese immigrants in particular. Lastly, there are articles that talk about non-white immigrants in general, so I coded them as a group of immigrants too. The third type of information coded is the major themes of the articles.

Table 3.2 General information for coding

General Attitude to Immigrants	Positive attitude	Welcoming immigrants; asking for more immigrants; supportive of current immigration plan; etc.
	Negative attitude	Refusing to have more immigrants or using keywords like *too many immigrants*; discusses skills level of immigrants, deeming them less skilled; etc.
	Fearful attitude	Associating immigrants with criminals, diseases, illegal entry, or blaming immigrants for unemployment in Canada
	Neutral attitude	Neutrally reporting information related to immigration
	Other,	Including articles that are not relevant

Groups of immigrants discussed in the article	British/Western European	
	Other Europeans: Italian, German, Dutch, Yugoslavian, Hungarian, Ukrainian, Jewish etc.	
	Asian, Chinese	
	Asian, in general	
	African	
	Non-white immigrants in general	
	No mention of specific groups of immigrants	
Major theme of the news article	Policy	
	Population/ Labour issue	
	Business outcomes	
	Crime	
	Security issue	
	Immigration origin	
	Integration/ settlement	
	Refugee	
	Others	

In this category, the theme of each article is coded based on the dominant topic in the article. In addition, each theme has sub-themes to the general topic which are also coded (see Appendix II, Code Book for Content Analysis, part II). For example, when the article talks about population and labour issues, there are six sub-themes: population or labour shortage; immigration's contribution to population growth; skilled labour shortage; problems unskilled

immigrants bring to Canada (lowering living standard, creating unemployment, assimilation problems, etc.); too many immigrants; problems non-white immigrants bring to Canada. The coding of the sub-theme of a topic can provide more specific details, and help to analyze the trend and inclination of news discussions on each topic related to immigration.

The third category is a list of descriptions of immigrants or immigration quoted from the original news articles. The purpose of this category is to provide a general view of how groups of immigrants and immigration-related issues are described in the newspaper in each phase. This category is organized by four groups of themes pertaining to immigration: descriptions of British and Western European immigrants, descriptions of non-white immigrants, descriptions of criminal activities by immigrants, and descriptions of unemployment issues (see Table 3.3, examples of descriptions, phase I. A complete list of descriptions is included in the Appendix II, Code Book for Content Analysis, part III, List of descriptions). The data in this category include the quotations of word descriptions in the article that describe the four groups of themes. The publication dates of the quoted articles are also included in the list to help retrieve articles longitudinally. Of course not every part of an article will be coded in this category, but only the content of the article that has some special signification will be included in the list. For example, in the first phase, one article talked about immigration origin, and the author said that having more British immigrants can help maintain the essential character of the country (*The Globe and Mail*, Aug. 18, 1951). Another article mentions that "it is very unlikely that repeal of the order-in-council would lead to any full-scale influx of Chinese immigrants" (*The Globe and Mail*, Feb. 17, 1948). Quotations from these two articles give us an idea that the different ethnic origins of immigrants are described very differently in the news articles. And we may further examine the

context of these articles. Therefore, this category is a supplement to the first two categories in a sense that it provides some examples of how news discourse describes immigrants.

Table 3.3 Examples of descriptions, phase I

	Publication date	Word description
Descriptions of British and Western European immigrants	January 1, 1948 b	British citizens are target of immigrants
	January 15, 1948	Northern and Western Europeans are desirable immigrants
	August 18, 1951	British Immigrants are essential character of the country
	January 3, 1961 b	British immigrants bring many advantages, professional skills, such as law and medicine.
Descriptions of non-white immigrants	January 14, 1948	Illegal entry
	March 12, 1948 b	Flood the labour market, take jobs needed by our own Canadians
	June 18, 1948	Cheap labour
	August 12, 1948	Threaten the employment of established residents
	April 9, 1958 c	Mostly general labour class who are unable to speak English
	August 26, 1958	Lower payment makes them a threat to white workers
	September 3, 1958	Stop coloured immigration

	February 25, 1961	Increase unemployment by taking jobs away from Canadian workers
Description of criminal activities by immigrants	January 14, 1948	Jewish illegal immigrants are very poor and have nothing else to live for
	January 3, 1961 a	Chinese, illegal entry, faked application
	February 7, 1961	Chinese, illegal entry
	June 5, 1961	Criminal activities
Descriptions of unemployment issue	April 12, 1958 a	Immigration increases unemployment
	February 4, 1961 a	Problem of unemployment could not be dissociated from immigration
	February 25, 1961	Immigrants increase unemployment by taking jobs away from Canadian workers
	August 11, 1961	Unskilled labourers should be excluded until the unemployment problem was solved

With these three categories as the coding scheme, all sample articles were coded only once and each article was assigned to one topic related to immigration. To get an idea of the debates about each topic, I also coded the different emphases of each topic as sub-themes. In this way, it is easy to find out the changing focus of immigration discourse over four phases in history. The four groups of descriptions used in the article can also help to determine how certain images have been attributed to different groups of immigrants.

3.3.2 Quantitative Analysis and Article Selection for Qualitative Analysis

All sample articles with a topic on immigration are first categorized by four phases based on their publication year. Table 3.4 shows the percentage of articles by themes in the four phases. In the first phase from 1946 to 1961, the two themes most often discussed in the sample articles are the population/ labour issue and immigrants' origins, and they account for 48.5 percent and 38.1 percent of articles respectively. In the second phase, from 1962 to 1978, the themes discussed most often are immigrants' business outcomes and origins, and they account for 58 percent and 25 percent of articles respectively. In the third phase, from 1979 to 1994, 44.2 percent of articles focus on immigrants' origins. Two other themes, immigrants' business outcomes and immigrants' integration, make up 18.8 percent and 17.1 percent of the articles respectively. In the last phase, from 1995 to 2012, articles on immigration are concentrated on three themes: immigrants' origins (30.9 percent), the coming refugees (17.2 percent), and the security issue (16.3 percent).

Table 3.4 Article distributions by major themes

Themes	**Phase I** 1946-1961	**Phase II** 1962-1978	**Phase III** 1979-1994	**Phase IV** 1995-2012
Policy	10.5%	10.2%	8.3%	5.2%
Population/ Labour issue	48.5%	5.2%	8.8%	3.4%
Business outcomes	1.3%	58.0%	18.8%	7.7%
Crime	0.0%	1.1%	2.8%	8.6%
Security	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	16.3%
Immigrants' ethnic origin	38.1%	25.0%	44.2%	30.9%
Assimilation/ Integration	1.6%	0.6%	17.1%	10.7%
Refugees	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	17.2%
Others	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Numbers of Sample Articles	239	441	343	528

The above table shows the general distribution of articles' themes, and also indicates the focus of media discussions on immigration in each phase. This is also the focus of articles requiring analysis using the CDA method. Therefore, this step of frequency analysis helped to further locate the most relevant articles for a critical discourse analysis. For example, table 3.4 shows that news articles in the first phase concentrate on the issues of population/labour shortage

and immigrants' ethnic origins. Articles with these two topics then became the best choice for application of critical discourse analysis to look into them.

There are additional ways to further narrow down the scope of chosen articles. For example, each theme has sub-themes, so these were used to classify some chosen articles. And the list of descriptions (examples see Table 3.3) also helped to locate articles. For example, after selecting the 207 articles from the first phase with themes on the population/ labour issue and immigrants' origins, I also sorted out a list of descriptions based on the publication dates of these articles. In this way, I developed a general idea of how these topics are described. And if some descriptions included biased attitude or other signification, they could be selected for further analysis.

3.3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

In this study, I used a two-step analytical procedure for interpretation of the content of the news discourse, introduced by Henry and Tator (2002). First, I identified the dominant discursive theme, and then cite many news examples to illustrate it. I examined the chosen articles for the main theme first and then examined the particular rhetorical patterns and linguistic structures that contribute to the construction of the themes, for example, the headline of the text, coded language, sentence structure, etc.

Van Dijk (1998) also suggests an analytical scheme to identify the themes as well as the rhetorical messages in a news discourse. Henry and Tator employ this and further develop it into a question list aiming to uncover racial ideologies in the media discourse on immigration. For example, they ask questions like:

...who should be admitted to (or removed from) the country?

what are the goals of immigration restrictions?

what values and norms are applied in these activities?

what are the relations between us and them?

what is at risk for 'US' (health, education, welfare system, social stability, etc.)?

...What actions are asked to protect our space, our national identity/citizenship, and culture? (Henry and Tator 2002:109)

In this study, I explored three central issues first when examining each article: (1) the central image of immigrants; (2) the way the article identifies, regulates, and constructs immigrants; (3) any word descriptions that will influence or impact on ethnic relations. In this process, I identified themes and rhetorical messages, highlighted useful examples that could illustrate the themes, and wrote descriptive summaries for future analysis. In this thesis, I cite exact examples directly from the news articles to demonstrate and verify the assertions I make based on the thematic content and the rhetorical patterns. Further, I also considered the socio-political context of the immigration debate while analyzing the news articles.

3.4 Strengths and Limitations of the Research Design

Part of the research design consists of applying the qualitative method of Critical Discourse Analysis, and this analytical method depends on a researcher's judgement and interpretation. So this research design has both strengths and limitations in terms of validity and reliability. On the one hand, the application of CDA provides textual analysis, which helps to illustrate the connection between observations and theoretical interpretations in research (Bryman, 2001). Such textual data can also strengthen the reliability of the study since "the textual data can be retrieved and recoded anytime" (Babbie, 2001: 379). On the other hand, the researcher using CDA collects and interprets data manually, so a challenge for this methodology is to ensure that the analysis of the textual data is objective.

To avoid the researcher's subjective judgement and interpretation in this study, and enhance the validity and reliability of the research result, I adopted several procedures. First, this study begins with a research question about immigrants' changing media representations. So my task was to determine whether or not there have been any changes to media representations of immigrants over time. Secondly, the three categories of quantitative analysis in the design can provide basic data in terms of the thematic overview of all news articles. Thirdly, according to Silverman (2001), taking readers' ideas into account is an important way to validate and increase the reliability of the research findings of content analysis. There is a column in *The Globe and Mail*, "Letters to the Editor," which reflects readers' ideas as well as their responses to some editorial articles. Moreover, there are also news articles that are reports of the opinion polls. So analysis of these media-reported opinion polls can also support the research findings of content analysis. Lastly, I quote many examples directly from different columns of news text, including front page articles, news reports, editorials, and letters to the editor. In this regard, the analysis and interpretations are grounded.

3.5 Conclusion

This research is designed to investigate the changing media representation of immigrants after the Second World War. I adopted both quantitative and qualitative methods to analyze 1094 sample articles published in *The Globe and Mail* with a subject about immigration over a 60 year period after WWII. Specifically, a frequency analysis helped to locate the major themes of news discussions in each phase. And a Critical Discourse Analysis provides an in-depth examination and interpretation of the chosen articles. The focus is to find out the key themes and how specific rhetorical messages construct the media representations of immigrants. The process also includes analyzing the broader social, cultural, political and theoretical contexts in immigration discourse.

Since the method of Critical Discourse Analysis depends on the researcher's understanding and interpretation, the overall research design had to include steps to enhance the validity and reliability of the research findings. For example, this study adopted a well designed quantitative analysis to present thematic distribution of the materials; it took readers' responses into account to increase the validity of the analysis; and it quotes significant examples from the news texts to support the research findings. Except for one shortcoming of manually collecting data, CDA is valuable in uncovering the hidden and racialized assumptions, arguments and implications that encompass media coverage on immigration (Henry, et al. 2000). Therefore, this study serves as a good way to uncover potential racial messages in the post-war immigration discourse, and to demonstrate the different social images of immigrant groups in each historical phase after WWII.

CHAPTER 4
MEDIA IMAGES OF IMMIGRANTS, 1946-1961

4.1 Introduction

The first phase after WWII, from 1946 to 1961, is the first period after the war that saw a significant economic boom in Canada. Manufacturing industries expanded in this period, requiring new capital investments in plants and machinery, and new types of skilled labour (Kelly and Trebilcock, 1998: 311). A low birth rate during the Great Depression and war years also led to shortages of many forms of skilled and unskilled labour (ibid). The national priority at this time was the population growth with an expectation of having more labourers for the economic development. As reflected in the media discussions, newspaper reports on immigration in this period Canadian discussion concentrated mainly on two groups of topics. The first topic was about how immigration could contribute to Canada's population growth, and the second was the changes in the gamut of immigrants in terms of their countries of origin. Common topics include whether or not having more immigrants was good for Canada, and which ethnic groups contributed the most to Canada. Over time, two types of images were created by the media discourse: desirable immigrants and undesirable immigrants.

4.2 Historical Review and Immigration Policy in this Phase

From 1946 to 1961, Canada had three prime ministers: William Lyon Mackenzie King, Louis St. Laurent, and John Diefenbaker. Prime Minister Mackenzie King was the longest-serving Prime Minister of Canada. He introduced the Canadian Citizenship Act and he became the first Canadian citizen in 1947. His political affiliation was with the Liberal Party of Canada. In 1948, when he resigned as party leader and prime minister, Louis St. Laurent took over (Riendeau, 2007). During his tenure in office, from 1948 to 1957 at the beginning of the Cold War era, Canada participated in many international activities, for example, becoming a signatory

to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949, and taking part in a bilateral joint defense arrangement with the United States (NORAD) in 1957. The Liberals lost the general election in 1957, and John Diefenbaker became prime minister, representing the Progressive Conservative Party. He put much effort into involving Canadians of other ethnic backgrounds, and combined conservative politics with social justice issues. He also appointed Ellen Fairclough as the first woman cabinet minister in 1957, and then as the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration in 1958 (ibid). Fairclough tried to restrict family immigration sponsorships, but she was successful in introducing regulations that removed racial discrimination from Canadian immigration policy (Kelly and Trebilcock, 1998).

Historically, Canada has largely relied on immigration for population growth and economic productivity (Li, 2003: 58). Both the postwar economic boom and the international environment in this period called for the opening-up of Canadian immigration policy. In Harry Cunliffe's view, "Canada's active participation in world affairs led politicians, interest groups, and the public to favour a selectively more open immigration policy" (Cunliffe, 1993: 13; Kelly and Trebilcock, 1998: 312).

Canada's immigration policy in this period was outlined by Prime Minister Mackenzie King in a speech in 1947. Mackenzie King stated that the government would henceforth foster the growth of the population of Canada by encouraging immigration, which would neither alter the fundamental character of Canadian society, nor exceed Canada's absorptive capacity (Kelley and Trebilcock, 1998: 312). In Mackenzie King's words, "large-scale immigration from the Orient would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population. Any considerable Oriental immigration would, moreover, be certain to give rise to social and economic problems of a character that might lead to serious difficulties in the field of international relations" (Green,

1976: 21; Kelley and Trebilcock, 1988: 313). Thus, this speech affirmed the key principles of earlier immigration policies that favoured immigrants of European origins, and restricted those from Asia and Africa to limited admission categories.

The principal legislative changes in this period were the passage of the Canadian Citizenship Act in 1946, and the creation of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration in 1950. The major changes in immigration policy included several regulations in early 1947, especially the repealing of the Chinese Immigration Act, and the enactment of a new Immigration Act in 1952. Major developments included changes in the definition of admissible classes, contract-labour programs, and refugee policy.

4.2.1 1947 repeal

In 1946, government regulations extended admissible classes for "non-Asians to include brothers, sisters, parents, and orphaned nephews and nieces under eighteen years of age of Canadian citizens as long as the Canadian citizen agreed to sponsor them" (Kelly and Trebilcock, 1998: 321). Regulations in early 1947 extended admissible classes for three more groups of immigrants. The first group included farm workers, miners and loggers as long as they had secured employment in Canada; the second group was the contract-labourers; the third group included the landing of fiancées, husbands, wives, and unmarried children of people legally residing in (but not citizens of) Canada (Kelly and Trebilcock, 1998: 320-322). Even though the Chinese Immigration Act was also repealed in 1947, Chinese immigrants would still fall under P.C. 1930-2115, which limited any male Asian-Canadian citizen's sponsorship to his wife and his children under age eighteen (Kelly and Trebilcock, 1998: 322). In addition, P.C. 1378 still required the government of China to approve any Chinese seeking Canadian citizenship (ibid).

4.2.2 1952 Immigration Act

In 1950, the Department of Citizenship and Immigration replaced the Immigration Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources. A cabinet minister took the primary responsibility for immigration and citizenship (Kelly and Trebilcock, 1998: 323). A regulation in 1950 gave the minister wide power to admit "any European who could satisfy the Minister that he is suitable having regard to the climatic, social, educational, labour and other conditions or requirements of Canada" (ibid). The 1952 Immigration Act further laid down the framework for managing Canada's immigration policy and gave sweeping power to specially designated immigration officers to determine what kind of people were admissible. They were especially empowered to limit admission of people by reason of "nationality, citizenship, ethnic groups, ... peculiar customs, habits, or unsuitability having regard to the economic, social, industrial, educational, labour, health, and so on conditions or requirements existing in Canada ..." (ibid, 324). As part of the consequences, in Kelly and Trebilcock's view, this power resulted in the admission of a large number of Italian and German immigrants (1998: 323).

4.3 Media Discussions on Immigration in this Phase

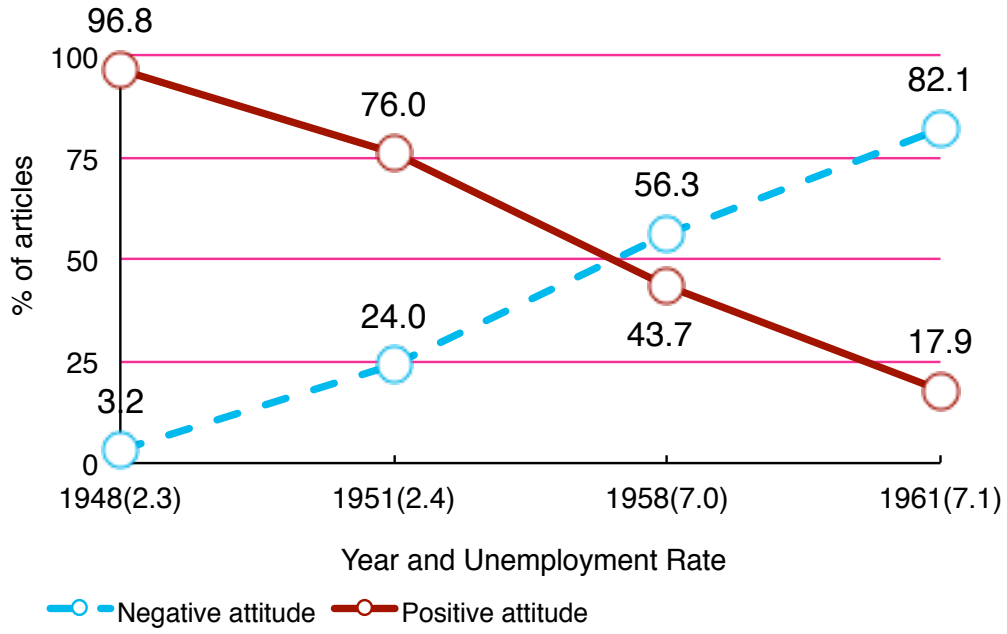
From 1946 to 1961, the unemployment rate in Canada remained at a lower level, ranging from 2.3 to 4.6 per cent before 1958, and only ran to 7.1 per cent in 1961 (Figure 1-1). For this chapter, newspaper articles from four years were selected for analysis based on the unemployment rate: 1948 and 1951 were selected because they had the lowest unemployment rates; 1958 and 1961 were selected because they had the highest unemployment rates. In total, 239 articles were selected for analysis. Among them, 116 articles dealt with a topic related to immigration and the population growth in Canada, and 91 articles talked about immigrants' ethnic origins. Among articles on immigration and population growth, 68 articles (58.6 percent) expressed a supportive attitude of having more immigrants to Canada, and 48 articles (41.4

percent) expressed a negative attitude, predicting that a large scale of immigration would bring many social, cultural, and economic problems to Canada.

Newspaper coverage raised many questions regarding the role of immigration in contributing to Canada's future population, such as whether or not immigration helped population growth; what the proper number of immigrants should be to address Canada's needs; whether immigrants made contributions to society or brought difficulties. Generally speaking, media discourse suggested agreement that immigration made contributions to Canada's economy and population growth in terms that it supplied labourers, increased the country's productivity, and enlarged the consumer market. However, when the unemployment rate rose, the news discourse was inclined to suggest having fewer immigrants or selecting "suitable immigrants" to protect the national economy.

Tienhaara's (1974) study on Canada's public views on immigration and population indicates that some demographic and socio-economic differences among respondents appeared to have bearings on attitudes towards immigration, but in general, economic conditions and unemployment were of considerably greater importance in shaping Canadians' opinions about the need for immigrants (1974: 1-39). In the same way, news discourses on immigration also showed that economic conditions largely shaped the tone of the media towards immigration. Figure 4.1 represents the percentage of newspaper articles expressing positive and negative attitudes towards immigration in four selected years in this phase with different unemployment rates. The changes in the percentage illustrate how perspectives expressed through print media towards immigration were changed in relationship to unemployment levels. In general, the higher the unemployment rate, the less likely were the articles to express a positive attitude to immigration.

Figure 4.1 Percentage of Sample Newspaper Articles published in The Globe and Mail Expressing Positive/Negative Attitude Towards Immigration



4.3.1 Desirable Immigrants

A typical positive attitude assumed a generous stance towards immigrants, seeing them as newcomers who helped to populate the country and addressed Canada's labour needs. However, there were conflicting views on immigrants over different origins. The discourse in this phase clearly adopted certain language styles, terminologies, and assumptions, as well as a rationale to imply that British and European immigrants were desirable newcomers for Canada.

For example, one article entitled "Given Green Light" and published in the opinion and editorial section in August 12, 1948, expressed the following view:

> One of these most pressing matters is the need for immigration. Actions on an appropriate scale to populate this vast expanse of territory have already been too long

delayed and the convention took note of this deficiency in the following resolution: "(The Liberal Party favours) an extensive policy of selecting immigration, particularly of displaced persons and relatives of Canadians, having regard for the capacity of the country to absorb immigrants without injury to a balanced economy or making a fundamental alteration in the character of our population." ...

Europe is packed with people possessing special skills but with neither the opportunity nor the resources to use their skills to material advantage. The scope of Canadian enterprise would be widened by the importation of skilled persons who would bring their needs with them as well as the means to pay for what they required through the practice of their craft. But apart from the highly skilled, there is a great need for ordinary day labourers. The productive capacity of the country is already taxed to meet the domestic demand for goods and services and fulfill the obligations which have been undertaken to meet the basic needs of Europe.

There may never again be a time so propitious for embarking upon a program of large-scale immigration. People of all types and with the widest range of background and experience are now willing to break with their past and come to the new world. If it is prudent and necessary to be very fastidious in screening prospective settlers from Europe, now is the time to pick them over. Later, when the economy of Europe has been repaired, the best of her people will not be so anxious to pull up stakes. ...

Every consideration points to the urgency of bringing people from stricken Europe to Canada. ... The "spark plug" of the King Cabinet believes that Canada can

absorb Immigrants by the tens of thousands each year--and should do so. There is nothing in the resolution adopted by the Party to discourage him from plugging for action.

The above quotation suggests that immigration is the most pressing need for the country on the grounds that it could help populate Canada's vast territory. For this reason, the article reports on the request by the Liberal party for the Canadian government to take actions and bring in more immigrants. This article supported the Liberal Party's view on immigration policy that Canada should consider its absorptive capacity and select immigrants from displaced persons and the relatives of Canadians provided that they would not either disturb the "balanced economy" of Canada or make any fundamental alterations to the character of the existing population.

Europe is mentioned in the article as a preferred region from which Canada could bring in large numbers of immigrants. Prospective European immigrants are described as "possessing special skills" in the article. So the editorial comments that European immigrants not only satisfied the population needs of Canada, but also provided skilled persons who could help widen the scope of Canadian enterprise. In this regard, the article implies that European immigrants were the most desirable and suitable immigrants to Canada.

Based on the above context, European origin was assumed to be the fundamental character of Canada. Canada could only accept immigrants who would neither add an economic burden to the country nor affect the European character of Canada's population. Thus, in order to maintain this ethnic character of Canada, it was necessary to keep relying on Europeans as the main source of immigrants. In other words, the desirable immigrants for Canada were those of Caucasian origin.

In another example, an editorial article, which was published on August 6, 1958, expresses how Canada needed immigrants. It compares Canada's immigration policy with Australia's "keep Australia British" immigration policy. The editor commented:

> This country needs immigrants no less than does Australia. Yet here, there are no policies, no plans, no targets. ... This is not to suggest that Canada should set immigration targets, like Australia, according to racist background. It is desirous that we attract a large proportion of British immigrants in order to retain our national identity. But it is even more desirous that we attract people, whatever their nationality, with the skills and knowledge we need to maintain our national growth. And while the two are not synonymous, they are not wholly distinct. ... It needs, say, skilled machine tool workers--some might well come from Britain.

The above passage emphasizes that Canada needed immigrants for national growth. Although the article does not agree that Canada should follow Australia's racist immigration policy of setting immigration targets according to race, it strongly suggests the government should make plans as well as set targets to attract more British immigrants as Australia did. The article argues that having more British immigrants was necessary to maintain Canada's national identity. Therefore, news discourse on immigration paid much attention to the ethnic background of potential immigrants in this period.

However, this article also mentions that besides nationality, immigrants' skills and knowledge are more important to maintain Canada's national growth. It was the changes in the economic situation that shifted the public's attention from population growth to the economic benefits that potential immigrants could bring into the country. Figure 4.1 shows that the percentage of articles with a positive attitude favouring more immigrants had decreased in 1958

when the unemployment rate reached the peak. But the news content in this article still describes British and European immigrants as desirable because they could bring in the skills and benefits that Canada needed, but considers immigrants from other countries as a menace in the sense that they were either affecting the cohesion of the country or competing with native-born Canadians in the labour market.

Based on these examples, immigrants' contributions and their benefits to Canada actually depended on their ethnic features. The discourse with a positive attitude on immigration was racist on the grounds that it only viewed British and European immigrants as essential and desirable, and excluded any other ethnic groups of immigrants. Therefore, the discourse implied that non-European immigrants might undermine Canada's essential character because they were physically different from Caucasian. Historically, non-white immigrants were also seen as undesirable immigrants for their superficial racial and cultural differences (Li, 2003; Roy, 1989). And immigration discourse presumed that non-white immigrants were culturally, socially, and traditionally incompatible with Canada society (Li, 2001, 2003). Over time, non-white immigrants were not only excluded from groups of potential immigrants, but received limited recognition from the society.

4.3.2 Undesirable Immigrants

When unemployment rates rose, news discourse showed an attitude of refusal to accept large-scale immigration in general. Throughout news items with such an attitude in this period, many articles repeatedly announced that Canada did not need large numbers of immigrants due to the bad economic situation. Thus the large scale of immigration "flooding into Canada" was depicted in the news discourse as the main reason for many social problems in the sense that it would exceed Canada's absorptive capacity. There were many "voices" in the news discourse talking about this issue. Based on this research, these voices were mainly coming from five

sources: government, immigrants and their representative agencies, editorial writers, public opinions, and academic reports. Each addressed the question of whether large-scale immigration aroused any social problems, such as integration and unemployment. And all of them tried to define which groups of immigrants were the major reason for these problems and how they were undesirable or unsuitable to Canada. This section will investigate each group of these voices in order to uncover the subtle racial subtext in the news discourse in this period.

4.3.2.1 News discourse from government sources

News articles from government sources on immigration tended to emphasize the economic benefits and cultural values that immigrants could bring into the country. If they failed to realize their contributions in the labour market, or had to rely on the country for settling them, they would be named as "unsuitable" immigrants to Canada in the government's view. The news discourse from government sources usually assumed that the unsuitable or undesirable groups of immigrants had less human capital and brought less social capital than the desirable immigrants to Canada. Their ethnic cultural backgrounds or traditions were believed to be incompatible with Canada's maintream culture, thus they were costly to integrate into Canadian society. These groups of immigrants were also seen as a burden to the country and a menace to the country's social and economic development.

For example, one edition front page article, entitled "Immigration to Canada is Cut 63 p.c. by Curbs: Fear Influx Would Add to Jobless", was published on June 6, 1958. This article draws attention from the public because of its location on the front page and its title. The title announces that the public feared the influx of immigrants would add to unemployment. It creates a bad image for immigrants, claiming that they were either unemployed or going to make others unemployed. In other words, immigration would undermine Canada's economy and make the

unemployment situation even worse. Such opinions about immigration would affect the settlement of newly arrived immigrants, and create tensions between the newcomers and the existing residents.

This article reports that,

> an official source said the immigration policy... may be changed to fit circumstances. ... An economic upturn and absorption of present unemployed immigrants would permit easing of restrictions. Officials said many immigrants now in Canada still have not been absorbed. The government wanted them settled with homes and jobs before embarking on any program of large-scale immigration.

The quotation clearly indicates the reported information is from a government source. The article announces that many immigrants are unemployed and unsettled. It implies that immigrants do not bring as much value as expected since they still needed the Canadian government to provide adequate settlement services to them. In this regard, they were costly to integrate into the Canadian society. The article suggests that Canada would not have any large-scale immigration until the economic situation changed, since immigrants couldn't prove either their social or economic worth. Therefore, the concept of immigrants was constructed in the news discourse was based less on immigrants themselves and more on expectations of their economic and social worth.

Gradually, the term *immigrants* became a coded concept in the news articles as it frequently referred to undesirable newcomers. Some articles used the term to refer directly to those coming from non-British or non-European countries. The news discourse also used public concerns over immigration to justify this coded concept, and quoted governmental decisions as excuses to exclude undesirable groups of immigrants. For example, another front page article,

entitled “Won’t Relax Migrant Curbs, Fulton Says” published on March 20, 1958, was a report of an announcement made by the acting Immigration Minister Fulton. The editor said,

> Government plan no lifting of current immigration restrictions until Canada’s economic climate improves. ... It was folly of our predecessors, and would have been most unfair of us, to permit people to enter Canada when their only prospect is to compete with Canadians in an economy in which there had already arisen a shortage of jobs. ... The restriction stopped the flow of Hungarian refugees except those sponsored by close relatives or persons, firms and organizations able to provide arrivals with jobs without displacing Canadians. This also applied to immigrants from all countries except Britain, Ireland, France and the United States. However, prospective arrivals from these countries are being advised of current economic conditions in Canada.

The above quotation from the government source claims that Canada would not loosen the immigration restrictions due to the severe economic situation. It describes immigrants as those who were coming to Canada to compete with Canadians for the limited employment opportunities. For this reason, Canada would restrict their admission or would require prospective migrants to have either sponsors or prearranged jobs before they came to Canada. However, this requirement, which applied to most groups of immigrants, did not apply to those from Britain, Ireland, France and the United States. In other words, Canada expected more immigrants from those countries, and didn’t think they added social or economic burdens like other ethnic groups of immigrants. By implication, such ethnic groups were assumed to have less economic value or cultural worth than British, European or American immigrants, so they were not desirable immigrants for Canada. In this regard, the concept of immigrants in the news discourse, especially in the government’s view, did not refer to everyone who migrated to

Canada, but instead frequently associated the term with people who were ethnically differently from mainstream Canadians.

4.3.2.2 News discourse from immigrants and their representative agencies

News discourse from immigrants or their representative agencies often concentrated on describing immigrants' living realities in Canada after their arrival. In the sample years of high unemployment rates from 1958 and 1961, only 2 among 144 sample articles were based on immigrants' ideas or their representative agencies' attitudes. It showed that immigrants and their real situations in their new country were rarely presented in the news discourse, especially from their own perspectives. For example, one article, entitled "Immigrants Exploited, Building Inquiry Told", was published on Oct. 19, 1961. This article was in the first page of the news section. It was reported by an administrator of the Italian Immigrant Aid Society, and described the real situation of Italian immigrants after they arrived in Canada.

> "Me work cheap." These three words of broken English were submitted yesterday to the Royal commission investigating labour relations in the construction industry as symbolizing one of the problems involved in the exploitation of immigrant workers. They came from Johan C. Pedonl, administrator of the Italian Immigrant Aid Society, who told the commission yesterday that the short but pointed sentence is one of the first learned by Italian newcomers of limited education and skill. ... Fear of deportation, he told the commissioner, was until recently widespread among Italian immigrants. They are also afraid of being unable to find another job and of becoming a public charge. ... Of the 20,581 Italian immigrants to Canada in 1960, nearly half were labourers, but farm hands and skilled workers who could not find jobs in their occupations because of ignorance of English, ... The language barrier, he noted, pushes the newcomers to work in gangs with

other Italians, drives them into self-segregation in big cities like Toronto and forces them to live in crowded, uncomfortable quarters to save money.

This quotation indicates one reality of Italian immigrants: that they worked for low payment. However, the reason for the lower earnings, given by a representative from an Italian immigrants' aid society, was because of their own problems. They usually lacked skills and education, especially their poor knowledge of English. Even if they were farmers or skilled workers in their country of origin, they could not find a job in Canada because of their language ability. Thus, they were not the desirable type of immigrants that Canada needed. Further, the news article concluded that Italian immigrants preferred to work in gangs for they had to stay together because of their language illiteracy. Of course, this line of reasoning lacks exact data to support it. However, the description, as well as some of the terms used to describe Italian immigrants, had rooted in the public's mind. When descriptive terms such as, *Italian immigrants were cheap labour, speaking poor English, gangsters*, or *living in crowded quarters to save money*, repeated in similar reports, they would establish a negative image of Italian workers seeing them as undesirable immigrants to Canada.

4.3.2.3 News discourse from the editorials

Among the editorial articles with comments on immigration in this period, most focused on non-white immigrants, especially when the unemployment rate rose. In the section of opinion and editorial, one editorial article is directly entitled "Coloured Immigrants" (The Globe and Mail, July 11, 1961).

> While there is no specific colour bar in our immigration law, and while the Canadian Government has set its face against any form of racial discrimination, it is well known that in the past immigration regulations were manipulated to impose rigid control on the

> entry of coloured persons. In general, however, coloured persons wishing to enter Canada nowadays are subject to the same tests as intending white immigrants. Do they have a trade or skill of value to the country, or private resources sufficient to establish themselves here? The reason why there are not more immigrants accepted from the West Indies is that relatively few West Indians can pass these tests. Through no fault of their own, the majority of West Indians are not skilled workers, nor persons of private means.

This piece of editorial used a term *coloured persons* to refer to immigrants different from those white immigrants. The article insists that there was no racial discrimination in Canada's immigration law. But the author implies that it did not mean Canada was ready to open the door to all non-white immigrants. Rather, the new immigration regulation shifted to emphasize immigrants' social and human capital. The author argues that non-white immigrants were not accepted in large numbers because they could not pass the selective test that emphasized immigrants' skills or other value to Canada. In this regard, non-white immigrants were believed not to have enough of the social and economic value that Canada needed. Since the selective test was applied to all expected newcomers, both white and non-white, by implication, the subtext is that non-white immigrants could hardly pass the test because they had less economic value or cultural worth than white immigrants. In this regard, non-white immigrants were undesirable to Canada. This editorial article does not admit carrying racist messages because it seemed that non-white immigrants were refused based on their own skills levels and other abilities. However, there is no evidence to show why they had less skill or value than the white immigrants. Therefore, the idea perpetuated by the news discourse gradually persuaded the public to treat ethnic groups of immigrants differently based on their race, origin, and skin colour. It also

attributed a negative and inaccurate image to non-white immigrants that they were not skilled workers or had less value to the country.

Some editorials focused on specific ethnic groups of immigrants directly, like Chinese immigrants, and claimed that they were the undesirable type of immigrants to Canada. For example, in July 19, 1961, one editorial, entitled "Chinese Immigrants" describes the illegal entry of Chinese immigrants.

> The pendulum of Government action has swung back to police raids in an attempt to uncover evidence concerning illegal smuggling of Chinese into Canada. Royal Canadian Mounted Police and some Hong Kong officers swept down on Vancouver's Chinatown late last week. The raid followed an appeal from the Dominion Government for illegal immigrants to come forward and give evidence without fear of deportation. This appeal followed a series of RCMP raids on Chinese communities and organizations across Canada last year. ... The smuggling of Chinese into Canada is an old, sad story. ... At present, there is only one way a Chinese can enter this country and that is by proving that he or she is directly related to someone already in Canada. Taking that fact and combining it with evidence of the poverty and uncertainty existing in Hong Kong today for Chinese, and it is obvious that a market for faked documents is bound to be lucrative and patronized.

This article focuses on the illegal entry of Chinese immigrants. The author indicates that the only way a Chinese immigrant could enter Canada was if he or she had close relatives who were Canadian citizens. By implication, legal entry into Canada was not easy for Chinese immigrants, so some of them may have come illegally. And because of the history of poverty, political uncertainty, and previous human smuggling, Canadian officers assumed that many

Chinese were smuggled into Canada with faked documents. The government provided this reason for ordering police raids following their appeal for illegal Chinese immigrants to give evidence. Although this article does not mention why Canada treated Chinese immigrants so differently, the tone and attitude of the description reflects how media discourse viewed Chinese immigrants as highly undesirable immigrants. This example shows that editorials were inclined to resort to descriptions of immigrants' race, and incapacities when discussing undesirable immigrants.

4.3.2.4 News discourse from academic reports

Academics have developed many concepts with regard to undesirable or unsuitable immigrants to Canada, and in doing so, often make their ideas appear more convincing and legitimate. *Integration* is one example of a concept that has been widely used in the literature to refer to the process by which immigrants are incorporated into Canadian society (Li, 2003: 50-52). In academic debates, cultural adaptation and ethnic survival are viewed as important evaluations of integration, although there is no generally accepted standard to determine what successful integration is. According to research done in 1994, which examined the question of new immigrants' integration, the concept of integration implied "a political desire and commitment to encourage newcomers to adapt to Canadian society and to be received by Canadians..." (Li, 2003: 50). This view has been clearly represented in the following example. This article is entitled "Selective Immigration" and was published on July 27, 1961. It reports a professor's opinion in a national conference on integration as follows:

> Professor Rudolph A. Helling, a sociologist at Assumption University, told the first Ontario Conference on Integration this week that Canada must admit its immigrants to full social and economic membership in the community, or run the risk of being

swamped by a hoard of minorities. Many immigrants, he said, being unable to speak English and unacceptable to the Canadian community, live out their lives in Canada in ethnic groups, speaking the language of their native country and being subjected to exploitation by their own ethnic leaders. ... An immigrant who is to be thoroughly integrated must be capable of integration; that is, he must be willing and able to learn the language of his adopted country, and provided with skills, which the country can use, or with the ability to acquire them. Mrs. Ellen Fairclough, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, recognized this need for selective immigration in 1959 when she endeavored to abolish the practice of permitting Canadian residents to bring in their relatives regardless of qualification. She proposed to place immigration from all countries except France, Great Britain, Ireland and the United States on a selective basis. ... In the years 1956 to 1960 inclusive, Canada admitted 412,752 immigrant workers, apart from dependents. Of these workers, 61,890 were Italians, and of those workers 27,643 were unskilled labourers. During those years 57,763 unskilled labourers were admitted from all countries sending immigrants; so that Italy contributed more than half of all unskilled labourers, a class of worker for which Canada has a small and steadily decreasing demand. ... These labourers, moreover, are not only unskilled, but generally so nearly illiterate as to be incapable of taking advantage of retraining courses now being made available. They can hope to swell the unemployment lists. This is a tragedy for them, and a burden for the Canadian economy. ... The real disaster is that ... unskilled, illiterate residents tend to import unskilled, illiterate relatives, so that the number of unemployables coming into the country is likely to rise, not fall, as in fact it has done.

This article discusses the integration of immigrants in this period. According to the author, ethnic minorities were incapable of integration because of their language ability and isolation from Canadian society. He asks immigrants to thoroughly integrate themselves into the adopted country, such as improving language ability, providing skills that the country can use, or showing the ability to learn skills. In his opinion, unskilled immigrants contributed less to Canada and would bring more unskilled illiterate relatives, which could only add on to the unemployment lists and create a serious burden to Canada's economy. For this reason, he supports the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Mrs. Ellen Fairclough's idea about selective immigration in 1959. She proposed to place immigration from all countries except France, Great Britain, Ireland and the United States on a selective basis. In other words, academics agreed with the minister that newcomers from France, Great Britain, Ireland and the United States were the most desirable immigrants to Canada. Moreover, Mrs. Fairclough endeavored to abolish the practice that permitted Canadian residents to bring in their relatives regardless of qualification, and replace it with the same selective system based on Canada's economic demand. The article uses Italian immigrants as an example and implies that ethnic groups are the undesirable immigrants because of their higher cost of integration and lower value to the economy. This academic's line of reasoning puts culturally disadvantaged groups of immigrants in an even more inferior position due to their language ability or skills level. The academic reasoning in the news discourse for why some groups of immigrants were named as undesirable was based on the immigrants' own problems and cultural inadequacies.

Based on these four types of news discourse with different viewpoints on immigration, comments about undesirable or unsuitable immigrants were obviously referring to non-white immigrants. Throughout the news articles written when unemployment rates rose in this period,

the subtext for "too many immigrants" was that there were too many non-white immigrants. And the real message behind Canada's "absorptive ability" was not the limited natural resources, but rather the cost of integration of those non-European or non-British immigrants for their linguistic and cultural differences (Li, 2003: 44-46). In other words, only British and European immigrants were thought to be worthy of coming to Canada, and other non-white immigrants were rather a burden to Canadian society. In this regard, the term *immigrants* became a coded concept in the news discourse on immigration with a pejorative connotation of undesirable newcomers who were culturally and racially different from the mainstream Canadian society's European origins. Further, the discourse assumed that immigrants from non-British or non-European countries were unskilled and poorly educated. Their low skill level, poor language ability, and foreign cultural values seemed incompatible with Canada, and the racial differences of immigrants produced many "immigration problems". Therefore, immigration discourse in the news articles was racialized in the sense that the increased numbers of undesirable immigrants, mostly non-white, were perceived as producing social, cultural, and economic stress to the society and undermining the social cohesion of Canada for their racial differences.

4.4 Conclusion

News articles written in the period between 1946 and 1961 adopted either a supportive attitude and called for more immigrants or a negative attitude and wanted to refuse more immigrants. The common assumption was that immigrants who came to Canada should bring in social, cultural or economic benefits. If they failed to realize their value to Canada after arrival, they were considered as being undesirable immigrants. But immigrants' social, cultural and economic worth was measured in unilateral terms from Canada's side. It did not show any respect for the immigrants' cultural diversity and ethnicity. For example, immigrants' social worth was usually decided by their not having to rely on government aid to settle in Canada (Li,

2003: 49); immigrants' cultural worth was measured by their compatibility with Canada's mainstream values and traditions (Li, 2001, 2003); and immigrants' economic contribution was only measured by their not taking jobs away from Canadians.

When the economic situation was prosperous, immigration was viewed positively in the news discourse as a good way to increase Canada's population and aggregated economic productivity. However, only British and European immigrants were depicted as the desirable immigrants for they were culturally and racially similar to mainstream Canadians of European origin and would not arouse the kinds of integration problems that non-European immigrants did. When the economic situation declined, immigration was considered negatively as a main reason for this economic recession. The large numbers of immigrants flooding into Canada at that time were usually believed to have exceeded Canada's absorptive ability to settle them, or they were believed to have made the unemployment situation worse. After all, news discourse either with a supportive attitude or an attitude unreceptive to immigration, would frequently associate undesirable immigrants with social problems, such as integration and unemployment. At least four sources of news discourse discussed this issue: government officers' announcements, immigrants' and their representative agencies' opinions, newspaper editorials and opinions, and the academics' viewpoints. Although these sources discussed immigration and its associated social problems from different standpoints, one common point was that if the country couldn't get economic return or cultural enrichment from certain groups of immigrants, they were unsuitable immigrants to Canada.

In this regard, the news discourse treated immigrants from Britain, Western Europe, and the United States as desirable immigrants in the sense that they could integrate into Canadian society without any social cost and could enrich Canada's culture, norms and traditions. The

notion of *desirable immigration* was racialized in that the term had become a codified concept for the news discourse to show their opposition to non-British or non-European immigrants based on ethnic origins. As Li (2003) also argues, this kind of opposition to increases in the immigration level had taken on the significance of defending the social cohesion in Canadian society. In other words, the superficial ethnic differences in migrant groups were the fundamental excuses to exclude undesired groups of immigrants.

Immigrants from a different culture were viewed as undesirable, and they were expected to comply with the cultural and normative standards of European origins after arrival. The explanation of why European origins were suitable to Canada was based on the assumption that immigrants from Britain and Europe had higher education and professions. Because of their similar cultural background with native-born Canadians, European immigrants were assumed to be easier to integrate into Canadian society. Thus, the term *immigration* became a codified concept to refer to the immigration problem, which was created by large numbers of undesirable immigrants coming to Canada during this period. In the codified concepts of desirable immigrants and of immigration problem, the emphasis was on the cultural and ethnic differences among groups of immigrants, and the target was to exclude non-British and non-European immigrants from coming into Canada.

Chapter 5
MEDIA IMAGES OF IMMIGRANTS, 1962-1978

5.1 Introduction

In the second phase after WWII, from 1962 to 1978, Canada was inclined to recruit immigrants with technical and professional skills in response to the rising demands for skilled labour that resulted from the industrial expansion of the post-war decades and a net loss of professionals to the United States. The changes in the immigration regulations in this period further facilitated skilled and professional workers' coming to Canada as independent immigrants. Since most of them were non-Europeans, this new wave of immigrants aroused many discussions in the newspaper. The major concerns of the public were concentrated on whether or not non-European immigrants would bring enough benefits without adding more costs to Canadian society.

5.2 Historical Review and Immigration Policy in this Phase

In the second phase from 1962 to 1978, Canada was led by Prime Ministers John Diefenbaker, Lester Pearson, and Pierre Trudeau. In 1962, the Conservatives were defeated in the general election, and Lester Pearson became prime minister from 1963 to 1968. Pearson rebuilt the Liberal Party. One of his notable accomplishments was the new immigration regulations with a point system in 1967. After he retired in 1968, Pierre Trudeau followed as prime minister. It was Trudeau who introduced the Multiculturalism Policy in 1971. He also announced an official Language Act in 1969, which was designed to ensure bilingualism (English and French) in Canada (Riendeau, 2007).

Regarding immigration policy in this phase, prior to the 1960s, Canada maintained a policy of favouring immigrants from the United States, Great Britain, and other Western European countries, and restricted the entry of those from non-European sources such as Asia

and Africa. However, with a large influx of unskilled immigrants from southern Europe and a net loss of skilled immigrants to the United States between 1950 and 1963 (Li, 1992; Parai, 1965), Canada's immigration regulations stopped using ethnicity or race as admission criteria, and emphasized educational and occupational skills instead. The 1962 immigration regulations removed the special provisions of preferential admission towards European immigrants that applied to immigrants with British or European origins, and replaced them with a universal policy favouring immigrants with educational, professional, and technical qualifications. The new regulations retained only one privilege for European immigrants: that they could sponsor a wider range of relatives than most non-European immigrants. Immigrants coming from places other than the United States or Europe could only sponsor close relatives (Privy Council, 1962-86: 126-144; Li, 2003: 23).

Further changes were made to the immigration regulations in 1967. A point system of assessment was introduced that was applied to all prospective immigrants, irrespective of country of origin or racial background (Privy Council, 1967-1616; Li, 2003: 23). Under this point system, a prospective newcomer could apply either as an independent or as a nominated immigrant who was a relative of a Canadian citizen or a permanent resident. In either case, the immigrant would be assessed on the basis of his or her educational and occupational qualifications (Li, 2003: 23-24). The point system was further modified in the immigration regulations in 1978. The 1978 amendments adopted a point system that had a maximum of 100 points of assessment, 60 points of which were assigned for educational level, work experience, and occupational demand (Privy Council, 1978-486:757-88; Li, 2003: 24). This amendment reaffirmed the importance of educational and occupational qualifications in the selection of independent immigrants.

The changes to immigration regulations in this period had two obvious effects on Canadian society. One direct effect was an increasing number of skilled immigrants with managerial and professional qualifications coming to Canada and entering the labour force. According to Li (2003: 32), between 1961 and 1967, new immigrants in professional, technical, managerial, and entrepreneurial occupations made up 22 to 27 per cent of all newcomers destined to enter Canada's labour force every year. Between 1968 and 1972, this type of skilled immigrant increased to 30 to 34 per cent of the annual number coming to Canada and entering the labour force. Another effect was that it made it easier for immigrants outside of Europe and the United States to move to Canada. After the 1967 regulation, a larger number of immigrants from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America began arriving in Canada (Li, 1996:106). According to Li (2003: 31-2), between 1956 and 1967, about 79 per cent of the 1.7 million immigrants were recruited from Britain, and European countries. However, the number of immigrants from these regions made up only 44 per cent of the total of 1.7 million people admitted to Canada from 1968 to 1978. In contrast, migrants from Asia accounted for 5 per cent of the total number admitted between 1956 and 1967, and increased to 21 per cent from 1968 to 1978 (Li, 1996:107). For immigrants with technical and professional skills, the United States, Britain, and the rest of Europe supplied Canada with 90 per cent of the total intake for 1954 to 1967, but this declined to 57 per cent from 1968 to 1986. On the other hand, immigrants with professional qualifications from Asia increased from 7 per cent of the total professional and skilled newcomers admitted from 1954 to 1967, to 21 per cent from 1968 to 1986 (Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1966-1976; Department of Employment and Immigration, 1977-1986). In short, the amendments in the immigration policy in the 1960s

facilitated Canada's recruitment of skilled immigrants from regions outside of Europe and the United States.

Another noticeable feature of the 1967 regulation changes was in regard to sponsored immigrants. Until 1967, Canadian immigration consisted of two broad categories of immigrants: unsponsored or independent immigrants, and sponsored immigrants. Independent immigrants were selected because of their professional qualifications. Sponsored immigrants were not selected and were eligible to come because they had close relatives in Canada who were willing to sponsor and help them (Hawkins, 1988: 47). The 1967 regulation expanded the admissible categories into three: independent applicants, sponsored dependents, and nominated relatives. The sponsored stream was divided into two parts: dependent and non-dependent relatives. Non-dependent relatives who were nominated did not come in as sponsored dependents, but had to pass through a selection process and satisfy the visa officer in the areas of education, personal assessment, occupational demand, occupational skill, and age—the first five factors in the nine-part system that applied to independent applicants (Hawkins, 1988: 53).

The Canadian government created this carefully planned point system for immigration in 1967 to make sure of a higher quality of human capital among immigrants. However, there is evidence that the quality of human capital gradually declined after the late 1970s because of the relatively large intake of non-selected immigrants (Li, 2003: 33). The public also doubted that the selection process for nominated relatives was very rigourous, so there was a general belief that the sponsored category of immigration allowed for the entry of too many semi-skilled and unskilled immigrants to Canada. Together with a high level of unemployment, the sponsored immigrants, including nominated relatives, became a source of anxiety among those responsible for immigration policy and management (Hawkins, 1988: 47-53).

5.3 Media Discourse on Immigration in this Phase

From 1962 to 1970, the unemployment rate in Canada remained relatively low and fluctuated between 3.6 and 5.9 per cent. But after 1970, the unemployment rate leapt to a higher level where it fluctuated between 5.4 and 8.1 per cent during the period from 1971 to 1978. For this chapter, newspaper articles from three years were selected for analysis based on the unemployment rates -- 1966 was selected because it had the lowest unemployment rate before 1970, while 1974 and 1978 were selected because they had the lowest and highest unemployment rates respectively after 1970. In total, 441 articles were selected.

In general, media discussions on immigration during this phase focused on the cost and benefits of immigration to Canada. After 1967, immigrants were accepted under three main categories: independent applicants, sponsored dependents, and nominated relatives. Theoretically, independent applicants and nominated relatives all had to pass through the selection process. However, media discussions usually did not consider nominated immigrants as selective immigrants, and expressed doubt that the selection process for nominated relatives was as strict as for independent applicants; they argued that the nominated immigrants were usually semi-skilled or unskilled since they also had relatives in Canada who were either Canadian citizens or permanent residents.

For this reason, news articles on immigration in this phase can be classified into two groups: independent immigrants and dependent immigrants. The purpose of the discussions in the newspapers was to clarify these groups of immigrants' costs and benefits to Canada. But in reality, the value of non-white immigrants was usually discounted or distorted in the discussions on the basis of their racial background. Topics in newspaper articles about independent immigrants were about what and how Canada could benefit from the human capital they brought

in. Topics about dependent immigrants usually assumed the higher social cost and problems related to their unemployment.

When the unemployment rate was high, news discourse tended to oppose all types of immigration, especially that of dependent immigrants. These new residents were assumed to have been admitted for reasons other than their human capital or labour market needs, so it was expected that they would have less ability and would create more unemployment. When the economic situation became better and the unemployment rate dropped, the debate on immigration was moderate, but immigrants' racial background also affected how media discourse would describe them. Since the supply of immigrants shifted from European to non-traditional sources such as Asia and Africa in the late 1960s, news articles were inclined to express an anxiety about the influence of the increasing number of non-white immigrants in society. Thus, the value of immigration might be discounted in media debates under different economic situations and distorted by the changing racial composition of immigrants. Over time, newspaper discussions constructed two major images for immigrants in this phase: independent immigrants who were mostly skilled and white Britons and Europeans, and dependent immigrants who were mainly unskilled and non-white.

5.3.1 Independent immigrants

5.3.1.1 Racial messages on the topic of skilled immigrants: Cost and benefit in public opinion

Media discourse on the topic of skilled immigrants usually concentrated on the estimates of costs and expectations of the anticipated benefits of migration. Skilled immigrants were admitted for possessing certain forms of human capital which Canada needed. According to the media discourse, the assessment of immigrants' human capital was usually based on two factors. One was how Canada could benefit; the other was consideration of the likelihood they would not

cause any social problems. Thus, media discourse intended to carry high expectations that skilled immigrants would bring more benefits to Canada with their skills and professions and would have less cost to the society.

Economic expansion in Canada in the 1960s and 70s required high levels of immigration, especially of skilled workers. This view repeatedly appeared in many articles. In 1966, when unemployment was the lowest in this period, 57 out of 219 articles (26 per cent) dealt with the topic of skilled immigrants. The major concern was a debate on the costs and benefits of skilled immigrants. The discourse intended to formalize the expectation that the skills and education immigrants possessed should benefit Canada directly. Thus, even though opinion polls in this period revealed that predominant attitudes were still against immigration due to concerns about losing jobs to newcomers (*The Globe and Mail*, January 6, 1966), newspaper reports were inclined to support the idea of having more skilled immigrants by focusing on the evaluation of the costs and benefits of immigration.

The following example illustrates how media discourse on immigration focused on immigrants' costs and benefits, and constructed the image for types of immigrants. The title of this article is "Our Valuable Immigrants".

> Policy in 1966, we are told, is to stress positive, selective immigration, actively recruiting men and women whose skills are needed in our expanding, labour-short economy. ... The other side of the policy will be to limit the flow of sponsored but unskilled immigrants. While this is to be commended, the hard-nosed, frankly selfish aspects of the new look must not be permitted to cut off the entry into Canada of the old, the ill, the young and the refugee whose worth to the country may seem to be small in economic terms. The Government should also undertake a massive public education program to convince

> Canadians of the advantage of an expanded immigration policy. It seems clear that many still labour under the delusion that immigrants take jobs away from native Canadians. The Gallup Poll recently asked this question: "The Canadian Department of Immigration is making arrangements to bring thousands of skilled workers to this country. Do you approve or disapprove of this?" Only 37 per cent said they approved; 50 per cent disapproved. In Ontario, the province which has benefited most from postwar immigration, only 39 per cent approved and 44 per cent disapproved. In 1945, 65 per cent of Canadians approved when asked the same question. No government is likely to go against public opinion for long. In this instance government leadership could change public opinion by impressing upon Canadians the benefits which immigration has already bestowed upon the country. In terms of the Capital and skills they bring with them, in terms of their job-creating enterprise, in terms of their purchasing power, immigrants have played a vital role in our postwar prosperity. (*The Globe and Mail*, Jan. 6, 1966)

This article is an editorial article. According to the above quotation, the author confirms the idea that Canada needed more skilled immigrants to help industrial expansion. The 1966 immigration regulation emphasized "selective immigration", which indicates control over the flow of unskilled sponsored immigrants. However, this article suggests that Canada should not cut off the entry of the old, the ill, the young and the refugee for humanitarian consideration. The article doesn't deny that these types of new residents seemed to have small worth to Canada's economy. The context implies that the country could receive greater value from skilled immigrants than from family-class immigrants on the assumption that skilled immigrants were more educated and therefore more productive. Thus, the expectations were that immigrants would have higher productive ability.

However, the 1966 Gallup poll results showed that fewer than 40 per cent of Canadians approved to having more skilled immigrants in Canada, compared with more than 60 per cent of Canadians who approved this in 1945. The rising reluctance was coming from the fear among the public that too many skilled immigrants might take jobs away. Even though the government tried to convince the public that the skilled immigrants would bring many benefits to Canada, the prevailing perception among the Canadian public was that immigration was causing some economic problems and that the economic benefits to Canada were dubious.

Sometimes, public opinion about immigration was not based on empirical facts but, as the article states, no government would likely go against public opinion for long. Gradually, views about the limited economic contribution of immigrants were repeated in more reports and created a distorted picture in the media of immigration's costs versus benefits.

For example, one editorial article on Feb. 26, 1966 emphasized the economic cost of immigrants again, although the government tried to convince the public that skilled immigrants brought prosperity to the country. The article simply dismisses the value of human capital imported by immigrants as follows:

> Education costs are rising, just how rapidly Toronto residents discovered this week. ... One-fifth of all immigrants to Canada settle in downtown Toronto, a fact to which this city owes much of its prosperity. But prosperity has brought problems with it. In Toronto, schools today are 5,000 children who have little or no knowledge of English – and 2,000 like them are entering our classrooms each year. ... There are thousands of other children who are culturally retarded, coming from homes where intellectual stimulation is lacking. ... With all these children-- and the functionally illiterate adults as well.

This article focuses on the costs of immigrants. It does not deny Toronto's prosperity was due, at least in part, to immigration, but the article also blames the higher level of immigration for increasing education costs. For example, the article mentions that a large number of immigrant children entered school with little or no knowledge of English, and some immigrant children were coming from less educated families. The context expresses a racist assumption that foreign culture, lacking of intellectual stimulations at home, constituted cultural illiteracy. The article intends to conclude that these types of immigrants were costly to Canada for they were "culturally retarded". This idea was based upon a "Canadian standard" --that those who speak good English, were well educated, and mainly came from European countries were considered to be cultured. By this logic, if immigrants and their children did not speak English as their mother tongue or if they were culturally different from Canadians, they seemed to have less value and thus were not the ideal type of new residents for Canada. This is clearly a message about the increase in the numbers of non-European immigrants in this period. In this regard, such cultural difference became a problem that the news discourse attributed mainly to immigrants from Asia and Africa.

Therefore, the concerns were premised upon a presumed truisim that, unlike native born Canadians or European immigrants who came earlier, the recent non-European immigrants came with different cultural values and behaviours that were incompatible with those in traditional Canada. Their large concentrated presence in Canada's cities was believed to have aroused tensions as well as social problems. Thus, it remains a yet-to-be proven claim that non-white immigrants possess such different cultural beliefs/values that they would undermine Canadian values, traditions, and institutions. Gradually, terms such as *culturally retarded* and *limited knowledge of English* became coded as usually referring to non-European immigrants. According

to this article, the "problem" brought about by immigrants' limited language ability was triggered by large numbers coming from culturally retarded or non-European countries. Obviously, the skilled workers that Canada needed did not include this type of immigrants.

5.3.1.2 Definitions of skilled immigrants in news discourse

The reason for the public's resistance to skilled immigrants might not reflect the real situation, but it indicated how the public, as well as the media and official discourse, viewed the benefits of immigration as more important than the cost of settling the immigrants. To avoid paying any additional economic cost for immigrants, the media discourse implied that it would be better to select skilled immigrants from Great Britain, the United States and some European countries. The underlying assumption was that skilled immigrants from these countries offered better quality in terms of productive ability, linguistic similarity, and cultural compatibility to Canada, so that Canada could get economic returns from them sooner. Therefore, this viewpoint was not based on solid scientific findings, but instead attributed immigrants' productive abilities simply to their ethnic origins. Thus, the term *skilled immigrants*, so frequently used in the news discourse in this period, usually meant European immigrants with certain educational qualifications.

Among the news articles addressing skilled immigrants, there were three different approaches. The first approach was to refer to them directly as British and European immigrants. The second approach was to point out why Europeans were the ideal skilled immigrants for Canada. The third approach was to argue why some non-white immigrants were not included in the Canadian definition of skilled immigrants. All these news articles created a general image that suggested skilled immigrants were educated, white, and European.

5.3.1.3 The first approach: skilled immigrants were British and European immigrants

In terms of direct reference to skilled immigrants as British and European newcomers, there is a wide range of articles on this topic, ranging from advertisements for recruiting immigrants in Britain, and the official announcement of a recruitment tour in European countries.

One article, in the "Report on Business" section from Feb. 4, 1966, reports on how the Canadian government had published a new magazine to advertise Ontario, and planned to attract more skilled immigrants. Even though the distribution of such advertising included Asian countries, the focus was still on European countries.

> Printed on slick paper, the magazine appears in three languages (English, French, German) and is being mailed to Japan, Hong Kong and Formosa as well as to the United States, Britain and most European countries. Distribution is free to a select group of decision-makers in business and industry. ... The image-improvement campaign is being accompanied by a drive for skilled immigrants from the United Kingdom--Mr. Ramsay (Special projects chief, Department of Economics and Development) would like to see as many as 4,000 this year--and free-wheeling advertising abroad. ... The Government is spending about $300,000 on advertising in British papers to attract immigrants. Previously, Ontario companies paid the cost. All told, Ontario could use an additional 35,000 skilled workers, Mr. Ramsay says.

Another article, published on April 7, 1966, confirms that such advertisements were very effective in recruiting skilled immigrants from Britain.

> As part of its drive to encourage 35,000 skilled workers to emigrate to Ontario, the provincial Government has published a full-colour 60-pages booklet for distribution in Britain telling immigrants what to expect when they get here. ... Mr. Randall (Economic

> and Development Minister) told the House the book was produced after research was done in England to find out what prospective immigrants wanted to know about the province. ... The book paints a glowing picture of Ontario life. The economy is described as booming: jobs are reported easy to get with a shortage of skilled and professional workers and an unemployment rate of 2.5 per cent in 1965. ... Mr. Randall said outside the House the ads in British national newspapers will be run for 12 weeks. He said most of the ads are in the form of testimonials from satisfied immigrants to the province.

The above two examples above dealt with the same issue, that Canada expected to attract more skilled immigrants from the United Kingdom. They mention other countries, including Asian countries: Japan, Hong Kong, and Formosa, but the focus was obviously not on them. For example, the language of the advertisement did not include either Chinese or Japanese. Further, the Canadian government spent a large amount of money on advertising just in British papers to attract immigrants. The second article says that Canada used special advertisements designed to recruit skilled immigrants from Britain. This widely distributed propaganda included aspects that attracted skilled British labourers based on research conducted in England. This type of adversing never happened in other countries. By implication, it showed how Canada expected more Britons to migrate to Canada.

Besides these advertisements targeting British workers, there were many other examples referring to skilled immigrants directly as British or European immigrants in the context of the articles. For example:

> Ontario's shortage of skilled labour can be attributed in part to lack of communication with the federal government. ...The province's budget speech ... was sprinkled throughout with items that reflect the government's concern over the shortage of skilled labour....

> Ontario's immigration needs were the chief concern of Premier John Robarts during a 12-day trip to England and Scotland last fall. (*The Globe and Mail*, February 10, 1966)

Another article states:

> The tight labour supply exists throughout the Prairie region. Alberta authorities estimate the province needs 17,000 more workers to fill available jobs, mainly in skilled and professional categories. ... Sidney Spivak, Manitoba Minister of Industry and Commerce, led a delegation to Britain and Europe in November in an attempt to speed the flow of skilled immigrants to the province to help ease labour shortages. (*The Globe and Mail*, December 30, 1966)

These two quotations illustrate how the term *skilled immigrants* was applied directly to British and European immigrants. Gradually, the term became coded as it was most often used to refer to new European immigrants.

5.3.1.4 The second approach: Reasons why only European immigrants were better

Besides directly referring to skilled immigrants as British and European immigrants, the discourse also provided reasons for why Europeans were better qualified. In fact, the media discourse was inclined to add more value to them, and suggested European immigrants had higher education and hence were more productive, had better language skills, and had similar cultural backgrounds so they could integrate more readily into Canadian society (Ibid, Jan 27, 1966).

One editorial article in May 23, 1966, titled "Competing for People", confirms that while Canada needed more skilled immigrants, the quality of immigrants was more important than the numbers of people. It reports that

> a surprisingly large number of Canadians still view the recruiting activities of the Immigration Department with suspicion or outright disapproval. A recent poll of public opinion showed, in fact, that 50 per cent of those questioned were against bringing skilled workers to Canada by the thousands--presumably on the grounds that "they will take our jobs." Economists, industrialists and, fortunately, the Government of Canada, believe otherwise skilled immigrants are the prime fuel for our burgeoning economy, Canada is hungry for skilled manpower. ... The overseas staff of the department has been increased, the program has been accelerated and more is being spent on promotion. ...[the recruiting of immigrants] not only in terms of numbers but in the quality of the immigrants from the standpoint of productive manpower. ... Overseas recruitment will be handled through Ontario House in London and the province's three immigration branch offices at Edinburgh, Dusseldorf and Milan. .... The Government will be looking for engineers for the department of Highways and accountants and administrators for the Department of Municipal Affairs.

This editorial article supports the idea of the Canadian government that skilled immigrants contributed significantly to Canada's prosperity. It suggests that immigrants' productive ability was more important at the time when the economy was expanding. Thus, Canada should have selected skilled immigrants with better quality rather than just focusing on large quantities. There were also many articles focused on the details of what better quality to Canada involved. In this regard, "better quality" is also coded in a sense that it made a difference among people who have different degrees of skills level. Further, the context does not mention any efforts or ideas of recruiting skilled immigrants from countries other than Britain or Europe. The article implies that the better-qualified immigrants may only come from British and

European countries, which were clearly seen as the prime source for suitably skilled immigrants in terms of productive ability.

Another article from reports on business, published on July 19, 1966 describes employers' attitudes to the question of skilled immigrants. It implies that employers would also prefer British or European immigrants since they would have better language ability.

> The distinguished-looking North American consulting his map in London's Trafalgar Square can no longer be automatically classified as a visiting tourist. Today there is an equal chance that he is a Canadian personnel director scouring Europe for skilled help to ease his company's labour shortage. Most Canadian recruiters head for the United Kingdom because its potential emigrants do not face a language barrier. But many Canadian companies have been seeking staff in at least half a dozen Western European countries. ... They say that in Britain particularly, there is no shortage of willing emigrants, although Canada faces strong competition from other labour-hungry countries, including Australia and South Africa.

This article expresses how employers also expected to find skilled immigrants from Europe and especially Britain. The reason provided in the article was that British immigrants had no language barriers after arrival, so they could join in the labour force directly. In other words, Canada preferred the "ready-made" skilled immigrants who could contribute economic value to Canada immediately. It implies the ideal skilled immigrants for Canada were those who could speak good English, or at least had European and British origins.

These two examples answer why British immigrants were the better-qualified skilled immigrants for Canada from different angles. The aim was to justify the racist idea that Canada expected to have skilled and professional immigrants with British or European ethnic origins.

And in all the articles provided as example, non-white immigrants, including non-white skilled immigrants, were not included in the discussion of Canada's desirable new workers. In this regard, the general image created for skilled immigrants did not include non-white people. Of course, there were also articles talking about non-white immigrants separately, but the focus was usually on how they were not suitable workers for Canada, even though they had desired forms of human capital.

5.3.1.5 The third approach: Why non-white immigrants were not included in the skilled immigrants.

News discourse at this phase concerns a lot about how the influx of non-white immigrants created problems to society. For example, some articles argued that the large numbers of non-white immigrants would interrupt Canada's essential ethnic character because they were ethnically differently from the traditional type of European immigrants. In some other articles, non-white immigrants were viewed as they would undermine Canada's economy. In the later part of the articles, non-white immigrants were usually described as they were unskilled or uneducated. Some news articles also mentioned the public concerns over issues of unemployment. The articles argued that unskilled or uneducated immigrants would hardly find jobs. In this way, this part of news articles circulated an idea that the arrival of non-white immigrants did not only bring ethnic differences, but also created economic uncertainty. In this regard, *non-white immigrants* became a coded term to refer to uneducated, unskilled aliens who would bring problems to Canada's economy and society. However, such views were not based on scientific findings, but were made solely upon public concerns.

A letter to the editor dated January 20, 1966 talked about attitudes toward non-white immigrants, such as West Indians, Japanese, and Chinese people coming into Canada. The author argues:

> Of course, Canada needs skilled workers and highly educated immigrants in large numbers. What this country does not need are large numbers of unskilled people. These would soon create unemployment and compete with sections of the population for jobs in the years ahead, particularly when automation will become a real problem. West Indians are largely of Negro and Indian (East) origin and thus are unlike any other immigrant group which has been successfully integrated into Canadian life over the past few hundred years. ... There, the formerly tolerant English man has become intolerant. Discrimination is growing against coloured immigrants, both from the West Indies and from India and Pakistan. ...It is interesting to note that urban discrimination has been increasing in the United States since the First World War to the present. We are not more virtuous in matters of prejudice than Americans and Englishmen; discrimination here is muted because of the few Negroes, but an influx of large numbers of poorly educated West Indians from those crowded islands would in the long run change the racial character, social conditions and politics of Canada in ways which it would be difficult to predict. ... In another direction, Japanese and Chinese have not been readily admitted into Canada, yet they have the skills and adaptability needed here. They have successfully integrated themselves, especially since the Second World War. ... Reactions to coloured immigration are emotional. We cannot ignore the implications, however.

This article confirms that Canada needed large numbers of skilled immigrants and was opposed to having others because of the skills required for the automation development in industry. In other words, the unskilled would have difficulty finding jobs because they lacked certain knowledge and hence would create an unemployment problem for society. However, this article equates unskilled immigrants with non-white immigrants. Firstly, the article claims that

the non-white immigrants such as West Indians were poorly educated and would change the character of Canada unpredictably. It implies that they would not integrate well in Canada. Secondly, the article argues that even though non-white immigrants had skills which Canada needed or even if they had adapted into a Canadian way of life, they were still not welcomed by Canada. For example, Japanese and Chinese were not readily admitted into Canada, even though they had successfully integrated since the Second World War. Therefore, the term *skilled immigrants* in the discourse in this period did not include non-white immigrants.

Moreover, the article highlights physical differences by using the term *coloured immigrants* to refer to non-European and non-British immigrants. The author argues that the large influx of coloured immigrants may undermine the basic racial character, politics and social conditions of Canada. In this way, this article shows an obvious resistance and discrimination to non-white immigrants. In fact, the discriminatory views were mainly brought about by a preference for maintaining Canada's European tradition. Therefore, an opposition towards non-white immigrants was an opposition against their ethnic origins. In this regard, a racist message can be recognized from the news discourse in this phase. On the other hand, this racist view was also presented as a legitimate concern. For example, there were Canadians who agreed that non-white immigrants may have had skills that Canada needed and adapted into a Canadian way of life very well, but who nevertheless worried about an "unpredictable future" and the danger of losing Canada's racial and national identity because of the surge of immigration from non-white countries, namely West India, Japan and China. Therefore, non-white immigrants were actually not refused because of their skills level or integration ability, but due to their race and skin colour differing from Canada's white Caucasian origins.

There were many other examples that illustrated how the value of non-white immigrants was distorted because of their skin colour and origins. Immigrants from Asia and Africa were usually denoted as "unskilled" in the news articles in this phase. For example, one article on March 18, 1966, confirmed that Canada needed more immigrants that year, but non-white immigrants were not acceptable. The article reported that

> Tom Kent (deputy immigration minister) and R. Byrnes Curry (assistant deputy immigration minister) explained at a press conference that Canada is putting on a big drive to get more immigrants this year. ... Asked whether Canada hopes to get more non-white immigrants, Mr. Kent said there is no change in Canadian policy, which he said is non-discriminatory. Africa and China do not encourage emigration, and low immigration from these areas is "quite inevitable" since they have less skilled labour available and fewer families to be reunited with those already in Canada.

Another article from report on business from June 24, 1966 talked about West Indian immigrants. It reported that, "immigration could be the touchiest topic on the agenda. Most West Indian leaders, whose countries needed a mass outlet for unskilled workers, had little use for Canada's immigration policy, which was directed almost exclusively toward skilled immigrants."

An article from July 8, 1966 argues there was no discrimination in Canada, and Canada was going to accept some unskilled and semi-skilled immigrants according to the economic conditions. The announcement was made to delegates from Caribbean countries. It tried to imply that immigrants from these countries were less skilled, and they might be able to come, but they would have difficulties in finding jobs. It says:

> Mr. Marchand told the delegates from the 13 English-speaking Caribbean countries that there is no racial discrimination in Canadian Immigration policy and that Canada does not insist that all immigrants must be highly skilled or have university degrees. In fact, Canada now is prepared to accept as immigrants' many categories of semiskilled workers, young people with high school education but no working experience, as well as sponsored immigrants who may be both unskilled and relatively uneducated but who have close relatives in Canada to help them become established. ... The real impediment to immigration on a much larger scale is the simple fact that your surplus workers are generally not likely to have any easier time finding jobs in Canada than they do at home. In fact, they may face new hardships compounded by a strange environment.

The above three quotations all treat non-white immigrants from Asia and Africa as unskilled and show obvious opposition to them. For example, the first quotation says that "Africa and China do not encourage emigration, and low immigration is quite inevitable since they have less skilled labour available"; the second quotation says that West Indian countries "need a mass outlet for unskilled workers" themselves; and the third quotation says that immigrants from Caribbean countries may be both unskilled and uneducated. These three examples demonstrate that Canada did not accept more immigrants from third world countries because these less developed countries did not have enough skilled workers and their own development depended on these workers as well. By implication, the context indicates that non-white immigrants from these countries were usually less skilled and poorly educated, so Canada benefited less from them. Gradually, the term *non-white immigrants* became coded in the news discourse to refer to unskilled, less educated immigrants or immigrants who were socially and culturally incompatible with Canada.

5.3.2 Dependent Immigrants

5.3.2.1 Racial Message in the topic on dependent immigrants

Another focus in media discussions on immigration in this period were the debates over dependent immigrants. This category included sponsored and nominated immigrants, and refugees. They were admitted on the grounds of family relations or humanitarian considerations and not by the selection criteria based on human capital and the labour market. There was a prevailing assumption in the media discourse that Canada would receive greater value from skilled independent immigrants than from self-selected dependent immigrants. It implied that dependent immigrants were less productive and indeed were costly to Canada. The media constructed a race-based image for this group of immigrants as it was used to refer to non-white newcomers, typically from Asia, Africa, and other regions outside of Europe and the United States. In this usage, the notion of *immigrant* also included the problems and diversity that immigration created for Canada.

When unemployment rose in 1974 and 1978, media discussions especially focused on the unemployment issue and implied that the nominee program brought a large number of unskilled immigrants who would usually increase unemployment. The discourse also cited Canadians' worries about their fiscal burdens due to some immigrant sponsors' failing to fulfill their financial obligations. In other words, public concerns over sponsored immigrants were linked to the issues of unemployment and the economy. In this regard, sponsored immigrants were thought to be a major social problem at this phase.

5.3.2.2 Sponsored immigrants

The underlying thinking of media discussion on immigration was that Canada should admit immigrants who could enrich the existing population and not those who would be a tax

burden. Such a utilitarian view had become a central theme in the media discussions on sponsored immigration. Many articles argued that Canadians enjoyed a high living standard and a robust economy that gave them reasons to be complacent about the country's ability to maintain its privileged position in the world, as well as reasons to maintain its selective immigration policy. From this vantage point, it is easy to see why immigrants were usually viewed as worthwhile only if they brought additional benefits.

In the media discourse on immigration, there was a prevailing expectation that immigrants' worth was measured by their level of human capital and by the net economic benefits they produced for the resident population. Since Canada usually admitted sponsored immigrants under family class rather than under the point system, Canadians did not think they possessed the same levels of human capital or brought the same obvious economic benefits as did immigrants selected under the point system.For this reason, the news discourse argued that sponsored immigrants brought social and economic problems to Canada, such as unemployment and increasing social welfare.

For example, one article from news section, entitled "Select Policy on Migrants to Continue," argues that sponsored immigration had become a social problem.

> Intense studies of the labour market suggest that many skilled immigrants are needed fast if the economy is to be kept in high gear. ... Meanwhile, sponsored immigration became a problem. One Portuguese worker admitted on the basis of his own skills sponsored 23 others, five of them related by marriage and few of them educated. ... Economists fear the flow of sponsored immigrants is building up a pool of unemployable persons. (*The Globe and Mail*, Jan. 4, 1966)

This example agrees that Canada still needed many more skilled immigrants for the economic development. However, the large numbers of additional newcomers sponsored by these skilled immigrants seemed to arouse attentions. According to this article, one skilled immigrant sponsored many relatives, and most of them were non-educated. Then the article posits that economists (implying experts on the Canadian economy) feared that sponsored immigrants might increase too fast and would build up a large pool of unemployable persons in Canada. This implies that sponsored immigrants added no economic value to Canada; rather they might add on extra costs to Canadian society.

On the other hand, discussions about dependent immigration were also coloured by race consideration, especially in view of sponsored immigrants from non-British countries. There was a clear racial message that can be ascertained from the way that media discourse referred to poorly educated and unskilled sponsored immigrants as more likely coming from non-British countries. In Canada's view, non-British countries sent more sponsored immigrants, and more of them were unskilled and uneducated. In this way, a sponsored immigrant's ethnic background became an important criterion in the measurement of his or her value to Canadian society.

For example, one article from March 15, 1966, reported that

> from some areas at least, immigration has become almost totally sponsored to the exclusion of immigration based on selection having regard to the immigrant's skill or ability. Accompanying figures from the Immigration Department showed that 91 per cent of Italian immigrants are sponsored. The figure is 81 per cent for both Greece and Portugal and 76 per cent for Hong Kong. Only France, the United Kingdom and Ireland show figures less than 20 per cent. Large numbers of unskilled and functionally illiterate adults have come to Canada through this sponsored movement.

This article is a front page article. It argues that large numbers of unskilled and illiterate immigrants were coming to Canada through the sponsored program, but the author did not provide any supporting evidence of statistics from the Immigration Department. On the other hand, the subtext indicates that the majority of sponsored immigrants were from non-traditional source countries such as Italy, Greece, Portugal, and Hong Kong, and only a small number came from the United Kingdom or Europe. By implication, the discourse suggests that non-British countries send the majority of unskilled and less educated sponsored immigrants and few of them are from Britain or France. Thus, the discourse constructs an image for sponsored immigrants as unskilled, less educated, and usually coming from non-English or non-French speaking countries.

Another example conveys a more subtle racial message:

> The inability of federal officials to produce information on how 900,000 sponsored immigrants in postwar years have adjusted to Canada drew a blast from MPs yesterday. ... "I'm really surprised that you came before us to make such wide-ranging changes without detailed statistical information." ... "It was astonishing that the integration of immigrants hadn't been followed up." ... The subject was the white paper on immigration presented to Parliament in October. Some members suggested that there were overtones of discrimination in new sponsorship regulations proposed in the white paper. The proposals would set an educational standard for sponsored males planning to enter the labour force, and it would also require Canadian citizenship of sponsors. An immigrant must be in Canada five years to acquire citizenship. Among the reasons given in the white paper were the potential for explosive growth in sponsored immigration and the danger of admitting unskilled, uneducated immigrants. (*The Globe and Mail*, Nov. 30, 1966)

The above quotation talks about the White Paper on Canadian immigration policy in this period. The major objective of the White Paper in Oct. 1966 was to legitimize reasonable control over the sponsorship movement in the light of the increasing need for skilled labour in Canada and the very real difficulties experienced by the unskilled in the Canadian labour market (Hawkins, 1988: 159-161). As also represented in this news article, the White Paper argued that all immigrants could bring their families to Canada, but Canadian citizens could sponsor a wider range of relatives, provided that these relatives were literate or (if male) had attained seven years' schooling by the age of sixteen, and could be qualified occupationally (Ibid). The proposal was attacked at that time for its utilitarian orientation to citizenship and was finally rejected. However, it reflected how Canada viewed sponsored immigrants as mainly unskilled and uneducated. Requiring a sponsor's citizenship would create a delay in the sponsored stream because immigrants usually needed 3 to 5 years to obtain the citizenship.

5.3.2.3 Nominated immigrants

Nominated immigrants were new because of the 1967 amendments. Basically, unequal economic and social values were usually placed on immigrants depending on whether they were seen as *selected* or *self-selected* immigrants in the media discourse (Li, 2003:40). Nominated immigrants belonged to self-selected immigrants and were usually described as a problem to Canada in the news reports. In general, they were deemed as not having met the labour market selection criteria so they had less economic value but took up additional social resources. Specifically, news discussions underscored the thinking that Canada needed selective immigration to bring values and benefits to help the economy when the unemployment rate was high in 1974 and 1978. For this reason, dependent immigrants were met by indifference from society and given a distorted description in the news discourse. This unequal treatment was

especially obvious when the economic situation was not good, such as when unemployment rose in 1974 and 1978. For example, one article published on October 28, 1974, reported that

> the system of nominated immigrants, introduced in 1967, is defended passionately by those who have relatives abroad they want some day to help bring to Canada. It is defended by those who believe the reunification of families is a more important principle than close adjustment to the labour force. It is attacked by those who believe nominated immigrants contribute to Canada's unemployment problem because they would not be admitted on the basis of education or occupational skills. ... There is another issue, less openly debated. Nominated immigrants tend to come from parts of the world where kinship ties are strongest. These tend to be parts of the third world and the vision is evoked of an exponential increase in the number of immigrants from these countries as each nominated immigrant himself becomes the means of admitting to Canada several other nominated immigrants, who would nominate others in turn. In the first six months of 1974, 4 per cent of immigrants from the United States came as nominated immigrants. But 33 per cent of those from Asia came as nominated immigrants. ... The green paper on immigration, now before the federal cabinet, blames nominated immigrants for a drop in the proportion of skilled immigrants. In 1966, the green paper notes, the year before the present system was introduced, 74.3 per cent of immigrants arriving in Canada were classified as skilled. By last year, the proportion had dropped to 50.9 per cent. "The over-all skill level trend has been downward for the past seven years. Mainly responsible for this trend have been the nominated immigrants, relatively few of whom have occupations with advanced skills," the paper says. ... In referring to the tightening of regulations during a press conference last week, Mr. Andras told reporters that a study carried out by

his department on immigrants who arrived in Canada in 1969 showed that nominated immigrants had a comparatively high rate of unemployment.

This article is an immigration policy review from The Globe and Mail Ottawa Bureau. The above quotation endeavors to classify nominated immigrants into the category of "unskilled, less educated, non-white". Firstly, it says that nominated immigrants added to the unemployment problem in Canada because they were not admitted on the basis of education and skill level. This belief assumes that all nominated immigrants are poorly educated and unskilled, but it does not provide any valid evidence. Secondly, the article concludes that these unskilled and poorly educated immigrants were usually coming from less developed places such as Asian countries because these countries had stronger kinship ties. In this regard, the discourse implies that there would be a sudden increase of unfavourable immigrants from third world countries to Canada. Lastly, the article indicates there was a drop in the proportion of skilled immigrants to overall immigrants in recent years, and says that a green paper on immigration blamed the increase on the number of nominated immigrants. But the article implies that nominated immigrants were responsible for diluting the overall skill level of immigrants who were supposed to be the major labour force for Canada.

Therefore, dependent immigrants or self-selected immigrants, namely sponsored immigrants and nominated immigrants, were perceived as a social problem in the sense that they would add to the unskilled population in Canada. This problem was usually seen as a "race problem" in the news discourse: that most of the unskilled dependent migrants were seen as coming from the sponsored category, which was believed to be responsible for the proportion of non-white immigrants in the society having increased too fast. This idea was further exacerbated by a rising unemployment rate and a real drop in the number of skilled immigrants coming to

Canada according to the green paper. Consequently, the superficial racial differences of non-white immigrants were connected with their fundamental skills level, as non-white immigrants were usually deemed to have lower skill levels. Although the viewpoint lacks statistical evidence, it became part of the image constructed in the media discourse.

When the unemployment rate kept rising, the discourse showed a clear attitude of opposition to immigration. In particular, the discourse focused on Canada's fiscal and welfare burdens of supporting dependent immigrants if the immigrant sponsors failed to fulfill their financial obligations. For example, an article, entitled "New Immigration Rules Tied Closer to Job Needs" on March 9, 1978, emphasized that immigrant sponsors would be asked to sign a statement promising to provide support to dependents for a certain number of years.

> The regulations contain a new point system that shifts emphasis from education to practical vocational training and job experience in the assessment of immigrant applicants. Adult Canadians or permanent residents in Canada can still sponsor the immigration of close relatives but can be required to sign a statement promising to provide for the lodging, care and maintenance of the applicant and dependents for up to 10 years. ... This group is known as the family class and they are not subject to screening through the point system. In the case of a second class, known as assisted relatives, a promise of five years support can be requested and the immigrant must pass some point-system requirements. Officials said the written maintenance promise is aimed at giving the provinces a basis to fight in the courts cases where a Canadian breaks a promise to support an immigrant relative who winds up claiming welfare benefits.

This example emphasizes the sponsors' responsibility for taking care of sponsored relatives for at least 5 to 10 years. If the sponsors failed to fulfill the obligation, they would be

summoned to court. The aim of this requirement was to make sure dependent immigrants would not take any social welfare and benefits from Canada but rather remained dependent on their sponsors. But the public concerns over social problems brought by dependent immigrants were always presented in conjunction with statements of Canadians' generosity and willingness to accept them because of Canada's humanitarian and tolerant traditions. Therefore, public concerns became a pretext to refuse more sponsored immigrants. Even though the news article says that discrimination was unacceptable in Canada, that Canadians should remain tolerant, but the voiced concerns of too many sponsored and nominated immigrants still transmit the racist ideas. When similar reports repeatedly appeared in the news articles, the biased views toward the dependent immigrants became widely accepted and have remained so ever since.

5.4 Conclusion

Taken together, the news articles in this phase tend to attribute Canadians' increasing concerns over immigration to the social problems caused by recent immigrants and their differences. According to the media discourse, the solution to these social problems—from weakening national values and overburdening the social costs, to increasing unemployment—lay in better control of the immigration system and of the composition of immigrants. In this regard, media discourse on immigration only valued immigrants who could benefit Canada in a direct way, such as bringing certain skills, proper education, language abilities, etc.

There is no doubt that the government placed a higher premium on independent immigrants, who were considered to bring a greater economic value to Canada, than dependent immigrants. But whether chosen or not, immigrants were expected to perform as well as native-born Canadians in order to prove their social and economic worth. As for dependent immigrants, their social worth was measured by their not becoming an additional social cost to Canada. However, in reality, dependent immigrants were portrayed as having less value to Canada on the

ground that they had lower skill levels. This not-yet-proven view was also associated with immigrants' racial background and considered the general character of the entire ethnic group.

At the very least, the discourse encouraged a critical focus on racial differences by articulating immigrants' economic contributions according to their different racial backgrounds. Over time, as these descriptions of racial preferences repeatedly appeared in the news articles, the biased images for dependent immigrants were engraved in the minds of people. In this regard, the media discourse constructed images of two major groups of immigrants: British and European people were white, skilled and independent immigrants, that Canada needed and preferred; the rest were non-white, unskilled, and dependent immigrants, who would only cause problems and add extra social costs to Canada.

Chapter 6
MEDIA IMAGES OF IMMIGRANTS: 1979-1994

6.1 Introduction

In the third phase under investigation, 1979 to 1994, public concerns about immigration were expressed about the growth in diversity brought by the increasing number of immigrants from non-European countries, often referred to as "non-white immigrants". With the introduction of the business program in the 1980s, a large number of Asian immigrants came to Canada, and this aroused many discussions in the newspaper that focused on these newcomers. In general, the dialogue on immigration in this phase concentrated on the tensions and problems that non-white immigrants had brought to Canada. And certain newspaper articles showed very direct resistance to Asian immigrants even when the unemployment rate was low.

6.2 Historical Review and Immigration Policy in this Phase

During the phase from 1979 to 1994, the Liberal Party was defeated by the Progressive Conservatives in 1979, but won back a majority government let by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in 1980. In 1982, the Constitution Act was proclaimed. The Act enhanced the Charter of Rights, and guaranteed education rights and freedoms, and made English and French as the official languages of Canada. From 1984 to 1993, the Progressive Conservatives formed the government, and the prime minister of Canada was Brian Mulroney. During his leadership, Canada signed the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement in 1988 and North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1992. The Canada Multiculturalism Act was also officially announced in 1988. In 1991, Canada decided to participate in the Gulf War. Brian Mulroney resigned in 1993 and Kim Campbell became the Prime Minister of Canada in 1993. The Progressive Conservative government was defeated in October 1993, and Kim Campbell lost her seat in the general election (Riendeau, 2007).

The changes of immigration policy in the 1960s gave rise to the growth of visible minorities in Canada after the 1970s. Based on the 1991 Census of Canada, over 2 million people were classified as a visible minority, largely immigrants coming from third world countries (Statistics Canada, 1993). For the period from 1968 to 1992, Canada admitted 3.7 million immigrants in total, 35.7 per cent of whom came from Asia, 4.8 per cent from Africa, and 7.4 per cent were from the Caribbean. According to Li (2003: 34), if immigrants from these regions were treated as visible minorities, then nearly 50 per cent of immigrants coming to Canada during this period were non-white immigrants. Moreover, the numbers of Asian immigrants increased the quickest among all groups of visible minorities. According to Li, the proportion of Asian immigrants was 15 per cent between 1968 and 1971, but increased to 40 per cent between 1978 and 1982, and then further to 51.8 per cent between 1988 and 1992 (ibid). On the other hand, the proportion of immigrants from Europe continued to decline (ibid). Therefore, Canada's reliance on European immigrants as a main source of immigration became diminished, and a large proportion of immigrants were made up of non-white immigrants, especially Asians (Li, 2003).

Immigration policy in this phase continued to address the importance of occupational skills and educational credentials, but the government were increasingly inclined to the economic role of immigration. In 1978, Canada amended its immigration policy to allow the admission of entrepreneurs and those who were self-employed (Li, 2003: 26). According to Employment and Immigration Canada (1990: 8), between 1978 and 1985, Canada admitted 4,109 entrepreneurs and 8,630 self-employed persons, not including their family members (Li, 2003: 27). When Canada further expanded the policy in 1985 to include entrepreneurs, self-employed persons, and investors, the numbers of business immigrants arriving from Asia grew again (ibid). Applications

for immigrant visas under these categories were moved up to the second priority for processing (Privy Council, 1985-3246). The government's intention for the Immigrant Investor Program was to "provide a means for those who had business skills and experience that would benefit Canada" (Privy Council, 1989-2440: 4944; Li, 2003: 27). In 1985, the total number of business immigrants admitted, including dependents, was 6,481, or 7.7 per cent of all immigrants to Canada. The number climbed to 18,445 in 1990, and made up 8.5 per cent of all immigrants to Canada in that year (Li, 2003: 29-30).

According to Li (2003), in the new wave of business immigrants, "a large proportion of them had been from Asia" (2003: 29). But there was a decline in the percentage of business immigrants from Hong Kong in 1989. "In 1983, 19 per cent of the business immigrants, including dependents, came from Hong Kong, and 4 per cent from Taiwan" (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1983). "In 1985, the number of business immigrants from Hong Kong alone was more than doubled to 2,821, which made up about 44 per cent of all business immigrants admitted in 1985" (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1985). "In 1989, Canada admitted 17,564 business immigrants including their dependents. About 30 per cent came from Hong Kong and 13 per cent from Taiwan" (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1989a; all requoted from Li, 2003: 30).

6.3 Media Discourses on Immigration in this Phase

Newspaper discussions about immigration during this phase were mainly concerned with the growth of visible minorities in the population and a new wave of business immigrants, especially those from Asia. Some discussions mentioned a decline in the numbers of European immigrants. Topics were concentrated on the influences on Canada's society because of this change in the immigration type. In general, discussions about non-white immigrants mainly focused on their ethnic traits. News articles proclaimed that too many visible minorities were not

good for maintaining Canada's ethnic cultural balance and European heritage. Under this viewpoint, newspaper articles concluded that non-white immigrants were not suitable to be admitted to Canada in large numbers because they might create a variety of problems due to their incompatibilities with Canadian norms. Therefore, the content of desirable immigrants at this phase excluded non-white immigrants because they added less ethnic, cultural, and economic value to Canada.

Sample articles for this chapter were selected from two years, 1983 and 1989. This phase showed only one cycle of unemployment fluctuation, when the unemployment rate climbed to the highest point in 1983 and dropped to the lowest point in 1989. There were 343 articles selected in total. Topics for news articles on immigration in both years were inclined to focus on non-white immigrants. Specifically, articles from 1983 showed a general prejudice against all non-white immigrants, and articles from 1989 especially concentrated on the recent increase of Asian immigrants. There was a column in *The Globe and Mail* in 1989 entitled "The New Arrivals" that talked specifically about this influx of immigrants coming into Canada the 1980s. This new wave of Asian immigrants aroused many attentions because they were expected to bring large amounts of capital investment to Canada and hence create more employment opportunities. The images of Asian immigrants represented in the news discourse were also very different from the past. Before the 1980s, images of Asian immigrants were people with few skills who usually started their lives in or near a poorer area of the city, usually called "Chinatown" (Roy, 1989). But after the 1980s, Asian immigrants normally came with better educational qualifications and more wealth, and most of them moved into the best neighbourhoods directly after arrival (*The Globe and Mail*, March 14, 1989). However, even

though the inflow of Asian immigrants brought benefits and capital investment as Canada expected, they were still not included in the desirable immigrants to Canada.

6.3.1 Media description of non-white immigrants in general

Despite many issues and controversies that revolved around non-white immigrants, the fundamental question that captured much of the public attention and news debate in this phase had to do with assessing the merits of non-white immigrants on the basis of their value to Canada. One question that underscored a widely accepted assumption about non-white immigrants was whether they had enough human and social capital that could benefit the existing population in Canada. This utilitarian idea largely guided the public discussions and news debates about non-white immigrants. For example, in the previous phases' news articles, non-white immigrants were mainly blamed for having a lower quality of human capital, which was believed to cause serious unemployment in Canada. During this phase, in addition to showing prejudice to non-white immigrants for this reason, news discussions found more avenues of blame, and the only exception was made for business-class immigrants from Asia. New topics of blaming included tensions and problems that non-white immigrants created in Canadian society, such as their inhabitation in ethnic neighbourhoods, the overloaded demands upon school systems due to large numbers of immigrant children and adults with little knowledge of official languages, the social segregation and urban congestion created by the concentrated ethno-specific businesses, and even the architectural tastes, which were thought to undermine Canada's European heritage and traditional neighbourhoods. In fact, many claims in the news articles during this phase were made based on stereotypes about non-white immigrants' races.

For example, one article from the opinion and editorial section, entitled "Considering Immigrants" on Jan. 4, 1989, is rather blatant about the public's growing concern over the increasing numbers of non-white immigrants in the society.

> Some Canadians feel the country is already overpopulated. One consequence of the environmental movement is a belief that our quality of life and the ecosystem can only deteriorate with population growth. ... Most Canadians concerns about the changing nature of the immigrant stream. In 1956, 85 per cent of 165,000 immigrants came from European countries and melded almost invisibly into Canadian society. In 1987, only 15 per cent immigrants came from European countries, Asian countries provided more than 35 per cent of new arrivals. ... It would be hypocritical to ignore the discomfort and racism that some Canadians feel in response to growing non-European immigration, discouraging as that fact is. Only by confronting it (and providing adequate support for new arrivals) will the more tortured roots of opposition to immigration be weakened. ... Canada is a nation of immigrants, yes, but more specifically, it is still largely a nation of descendants of European immigrants growing somewhat nervous about a crowded world. Support for immigration cannot always be taken for granted.

The above quotation mentions a decline of European immigrants, and an increase of non-white immigrants, especially Asians in 1987. It describes a public concern over this change in the immigration pattern and the adverse effects on Canada's social life and environment. The article reports that most Canadians worried about the sharp decline in the supply of European immigrants, and the increase in Asian immigrants between 1956 and 1987. In other words, it was not the total increase in the number of immigrants in Canada that was reducing the quality of life, but an increase in non-Europeans that created problems. Based on this assumption, the writer suggests that it would be more important to maintain Canada's European character, rather than just recruit more immigrants, especially those from non-European countries. In this regard, non-white immigrants were once again excluded from the desirable type of immigrants to Canada.

Of course, the focus of stereotypes may vary in different news articles. But the biased image of non-white immigrants would have highly affected their assimilation and caused them to receive unfair treatment from society. For example, one article from the news section, published on Feb. 11, 1983, described how ethnic immigrants such as Indian immigrants had experienced prejudice from social agencies because of their races.

> "Most agencies like the CAS have not shown sensitivity to their minority clients," Alok Mukherjee, spokesman for the Indian Immigrant Aid Society, said yesterday. "Prejudice extends beyond the CAS." ...Mr. Mukherjee and representatives from Jamaican and other minority groups were responding to a CAS report on multiculturalism released this week that concluded that some CAS staff and board members have "deep-seated feelings of hostility and resentment toward people of colour and immigrants." East Indians in Toronto suffer from the stereotype notion harbored by many social workers that they all live in overcrowded homes and have strange religious traditions. ... Rupert James, president of the Jamaican Canadian Association, complained that many qualified black people working in Metro's social services department are not promoted to administrative positions the way white workers are. ... There are no non-white people among the CAS's top 12 administrators. ... Robert Couchan, executive director of Metro's Family Service Association, said some of his 36 social workers also have acted in a discriminatory way toward minority-group clients. "There is discrimination in the whole system. We just don't have enough ethnic workers," he said.

The above quotation describes biased treatment some non-white immigrants had experienced in Canada. The author argues that social workers' discriminatory attitude to non-white immigrants was influenced by the existing stereotyped images of such newcomers in

Canada. According to this article, Indian and black immigrants received serious hostility and resentment because of their cultural habits. Moreover, the article mentions that ethnic minorities found it especially hard to get promoted in their occupations. In other words, they were not accepted by Canadian society because they were different from the norm of Canada's social, cultural and ethnic character.

6.3.2 Media description of Asian immigrants and Asian business immigrants

Discussions about Asian immigrants from two sample years showed very opposite attitudes at this phase. In 1983, when the unemployment rate was at the peak of this phase, news articles suggested not allowing more non-white immigrants to come to Canada because of the serious unemployment situation in the country. However, the refusal attitude did not include Asian immigrants, especially those Chinese business immigrants. Some articles expressed high expectations of the entrepreneur immigrants from Hong Kong.

For example, one article, "Metro is one of the most racially diverse centers in the world" in August 22, 1983, describes different ethnic groups living in Toronto. This article is from *Report on Business*. It shows obvious preference to Chinese immigrants.

> The introduction in 1967 of the immigration point system, which made Canada more accessible to non-Commonwealth immigrants, has placed Toronto in the ranks of the most racially diverse centers in the world. "The point system rewards people for speaking English and for having skills that are needed," said Loren Simerl, a researcher with the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, "Obviously, those skills include just common labours". ... The unemployment rate in Metro Toronto was 9.7 per cent at the end of the second quarter, but there are no statistics that break down employment and income data by ethnic group, making it difficult to ascertain how Metro's diverse communities are faring in today's tight job market.

> A 1980 study commissioned by the Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants surveyed non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants who had been in Canada more than three years and concluded that underemployment, not unemployment, was the main problem. ... The University of Toronto Study found that although many Chinese still work in service occupations, others are concentrated in high status fields such as medicine and the sciences. The mean income for Chinese men and women were highest among non-white immigrants. ... Since 1979, Metro's Chinese community has absorbed 20, 000 refugees from Southeast Asia, 80 per cent of whom were ethnic Chinese, and the next big impact on the community could well come from a wave of migration from Hong Kong, said lawyer Sidney Poon. ... Canadian immigration policy allows prospective immigrants to apply for admission as entrepreneurs if they can establish a business that would employ at least five Canadians. An influx of Hong Kong entrepreneurs would mean a large amount of capital.

This article reports information from an academic source. It describes different ethnic groups of non-white immigrants coming to Canada since the introduction of the immigration point system in 1967. The article agrees that the point system helped Canada have more skilled labourers. However, the article also mentions the high unemployment situation in Canada, although the report did not prove that there was a correlation between unemployment rate and ethnic groups. The context implies ethnic groups were usually unemployed or underemployed.

On the other hand, the article mentions that Chinese immigrants were quite different from other non-white immigrants based on this research. For example, the article describes that Chinese immigrants previously worked in service occupations and most of them still did so, while others had begun to work in more professional occupations such as medicine and the

sciences. These newly emerging Chinese middle class professional and technical workers changed the image of Chinese immigrants from what it had previously been, for example, the image of Chinese immigrants as smugglers working for lower wages, etc. Moreover, the article emphasizes that the business immigrants from Hong Kong especially aroused interest from the public in terms of creating employment opportunities as well as bringing in capital. In this way, Chinese immigrants got a completely new image in the news discourse, seeing them anew as well educated, having higher incomes (at least higher than other non-white immigrants), and those from Hong Kong usually came with large amounts of capital.

However, news articles from 1989 showed a complete resistance to Asian immigrants. Most discussions focused on blaming Asian immigrants, especially Chinese business immigrants, for creating all kinds of social problems. In fact, business people made up only a small percentage of the total number of immigrants before the 1990s, but their coming to Canada gave rise to a new wave of discussion[1] about Asian immigrants in the news discourse. Within the sample articles from 1989, 88.1 per cent of the total 181 news articles on immigration talked about Asian immigrants (including business immigrants.[2]) Discussions on this group especially focused on those from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia. Among the 159 articles on this topic, 70.6 per cent describe negative impacts, and only 17.5 percent of the articles mention the contributions made by Asian immigrants (see Table 6.1). The negative influences of Asians were usually discussed from four perspectives: general resistance from most Canadians, topics on the volume of population, topics on Canada's cultural heritage, and blame for social problems, such as crimes, lack of education, and epidemics. From these four perspectives, newspaper articles created a public image for Asian immigrants that showed them to be socially undesirable because

[1] The first wave of discussions on Asian immigrants in the newspaper articles occured when a point system was adopted in the immigration policy to select immigrants. Please see Chapter V, Independent immigrants.

[2] The reason for classifying news articles about business immigrants from Asia as Asian immigrants was because that all articles about business immigrants in 1989 were inclined to describe those from Asia in 1989.

of their race. By doing so, the racist idea that Asian immigrants were a foreign race became widely accepted in Canada.

Table 6.1 News Articles Returned by Content Category, 1989

Content Category	Themes		% (N)
Asian Immigrants			88.1% (159)
(including Asian business	Contributions	17.5%	
immigrants)	Negative impact	70.6%	
Non-White Immigrants			6% (11)
(in general)			
Opinion Polls			1% (2)
Others			4.9% (9)
Total			100% (181)

6.3.2.1 General Resistance

Many articles in the column "The New Arrivals" talked about the new wave of business immigrants in the early half of 1989. According to these articles, Chinese immigrants were no longer described as cheap labourers because many of them had moved into the professional and technical fields of work. And the arrival of large numbers of business immigrants from Hong Kong also improved the economic base of the Chinese community in Canada. Therefore, the images of Chinese immigrants in the media discourse at this phase changed a lot. However, most of the articles still suggested that the Chinese were still socially undesirable, despite the economic accomplishments and occupational mobility they achieved in Canada. Although news discourse did not explicitly resort to the notion of race, racist ideas could still be detected.

For example, one edition front page article from Jan. 6, 1989, is titled, "Asian investors flock to British Columbia with pockets jingling." It describes how Asian immigrants were bringing large amounts of capital to Canada. But the tone of the article does not show a supportive attitude to Asian business immigrants.

> Asian businessmen who are bringing their expertise and their dollars to Vancouver in exchange for Canadian citizenship. Provincial government records show that 187 foreign investors with $330.6 million jingling in their pockets moved to British Columbia between January 1987, and October 1988. And about 80 per cent of them came from Asian countries. During the same time, the province also attracted 1,168 foreign entrepreneurs with a total worth of $1.3 billion. About 60 per cent were Asian. The immigrants' most visible investments have been in prime downtown and residential real estate. … Business and investments were not Asian business immigrants' prime reason for moving to Canada, rather, they have come here to enjoy a good system of education, a good quality of life, etc.

According to this article, Canada attracted large numbers of business immigrants from Asia. It describes how Asian business immigrants brought a large amount of capital. However, the article claims that they are coming with capital to exchange for citizenship in Canada. The article said that the most "visible investments" from the business immigrants were in the real estate market. Thus, the article uses this phenomenon as evidence to argue that the real purpose that Asian immigrants had was to take social benefits rather than make business investments. By implication, the article tries to suggest that Asian immigrants did not make valuable or significant contributions to Canada in addition to their investment.

The latter part of this article described a very hostile attitude from the public to Chinese immigrants.

> Jimmy Yap, an active Vancouver realtor whose firm handled $100 million in investments from Asian interests last year, said Canadians are reaping enormous gains from the new injection of Foreign funds. Estimates of Asian investment in B.C. real estate last year range from $500 million to $1 billion. But the flow may dry up suddenly if British Columbians continue to show resistance and, in some cases, racism toward their new neighbours, said Philip Barter, a senior partner at the accounting firm of Price Waterhouse. ... The Canadian Message is we want your money but we don't want you. Mr. Barter said one of his clients is reassessing plans to move to Vancouver and invest several million dollars after an ugly incident when looking at a $2 million home that was for sale. The neighbours told his client, who has extensive holdings in Europe, that they did not want Chinese moving into their area. (The Globe and Mail, Jan. 06 1989)

This part of the quotation mentioned the large amount of investment made by Asian entrepreneurs. However, Canada welcomed the investment, but was not ready to accept people from Asia. The article indicated the public showed acute resistance to the new wave of Asian immigrants, especially Chinese immigrants. The obvious racist ideas towards the Chinese reached a climax in the latter half of the 1980s. During this period, news articles with a topic on the new wave of Asian immigrants often linked social problems such as the rising real estate prices, increasing numbers of housing construction, and other urban development problems, to the rise of numbers of Asian immigrants in the latter half of the 1980s. For example, another article written in the same day on January 6, 1989, entitled "Canada favored by Hong Kong emigrants", described about how the newly arrived Hong Kong immigrants favored making

investment in the real estate market. The article said that, "Hong Kong investors account for an estimated 30 to 40 per cent of current Vancouver property deals. And almost every major downtown development site placed on the market was sold last year. The value of office sites almost doubled and prices of some condominiums increased by more than 100 per cent". Li also said in one of his articles about Chinese business immigrants, that many Canadians viewed the new wealthy immigrants and their demand for opulent houses as the reason for many crises such as "high real estate prices, overbuilt neighbourhoods, and the rapid urbanization that destroyed traditional residential communities and the moral heritage in Canada" (Li, 1994: 20).

Some articles have attempted to provide more examples of the social problems generated by the new wave of Asian immigrants. And most of the complaints from existing residents concentrated on the housing crisis. For most Canadians, "the price of housing is being driven up by Hong Kong buyers, but to Canadians a house is a home rather a commodity to be bought and sold on speculation" (*The Globe and Mail*, Feb. 18, 1989). Gradually, Asian business immigrants were described as "speculators" in the news discourse, and not the traditional Canadians. This public image of Asian immigrants provided a common ground for some Caucasian Canadians to argue why Asian immigrants were culturally and morally unsuitable to Canada. By describing the resistance from the public to Asian immigrants, the news discourse created a general image of Asian immigrants as a foreign race in Canada.

6.3.2.2 Topics on Canada's population composition

Another focus of discussions about Asian immigrants in 1989 was about Canada's population composition. This group of articles usually had some opinion surveys of Canadians' attitudes about the suitable level of immigration and the acceptable types of immigrants. However, most of the articles viewed Asian immigrants as "unsuitable" immigrants to Canada.

For example, there was a report of an opinion poll conducted in 1989, which claimed that "public anxiety about immigration and racism is at its highest point in Canadian polling history" (*The Globe and Mail*, March 21, 1989).

> Michael Adams, presenter of Environics Research Groups -- the polling people, reports in a recent speech that public anxiety about immigration and racism is at its highest point in Canadian polling history. Mr. Adams says a majority of Canadians have always responded affirmatively when asked whether Canada accepts too many immigrants. ... What especially gets up Canadians' noses these days is that the main source-point of immigration has shifted from Europe to Asia and the Caribbean. So, since the start of the 1980s, the people coming here have not been predominantly white. ... yellow or brown peril were washing over our lily white native soil. ... The urban areas with severe racial tensions are the Toronto- and Vancouver-centered regions. ... Of interest is the venue for Mr. Adams' speech: the inaugural meeting of the Laurier Institute in Vancouver. The institute has been founded by Vancouver investment counselor as a private-sector-supported research house examining immigration tensions. The first study is being done on the impact of Asian immigrants on Vancouver's real estate market.

This report indicates that there were severe racial tensions in two urban centers, Toronto and Vancouver. In this opinion poll, the majority of Canadians responded affirmatively when asked whether Canada accepts too many immigrants. In fact, the analysis of the polling indicated that most Canadians were worried about Canada receiving too many non-white immigrants. The article uses a term *"yellow or brown peril"* to describe such tensions, and used *"lily white native soil"* to emphasize the Anglo-Saxon based population in Canada. By implication, Canadians can only accept non-white immigrants such as Asians or Caribbeans as a minimum proportion of the

total. In other words, the only reason Canada refused to have more non-white immigrants was because of their race. Moreover, according to this article, whether or not Asian immigrants had an influence on the real estate market was still a need-to-be-proven idea, but it had already aroused tensions among the public. It shows how racist ideas influenced non-white immigrants in Canada.

Discussions about Canada's population and composition also tried to exclude Asian immigrants with the excuse that new immigrants would compete for natural and social resources with Canadians. For example the article quoted in the previous part regarding news discussion about non-white immigrants in general (*The Globe and Mail*, Jan. 4, 1989 mentioned the increase of Asian immigrants, which was 35 percent of total immigrants in 1978. The author argues that, "one consequence of the environmental movement is that our quality of life and the ecosystem can deteriorate" (ibid). In 1989, there was a lower unemployment rate (7.5 per cent) and few articles talked about competition in the job market, but news articles mentioned competition for natural resources. Many articles talked about the new wave of immigrants in this phase indicating the obvious resistance to Asian immigrants. Within these discussions, Asian immigrants were usually not viewed as newcomers who could add economic benefits to society. Therefore, the real subtext of claims that Canada was overpopulated is that Canadians do not want to receive more non-white immigrants, especially Asians.

6.3.2.3 Topics on Canada's ethnic and cultural heritage

The third aspect in the discussion about the negative impact of Asian immigrants was about concerns over Canada's ethnic and cultural balance. The prevailing argument was that a fast increase and accumulation of Asian immigrants in one place in a short period would interrupt Canada's European ethnic and cultural balance. In general, the debate on this issue

reflected how immigrants' phenotypic features constituted the basis of their shared beliefs or cultural identity.

For example, one article from the column "The New Arrivals" from Jan. 10, 1989 reports an opinion survey about Canadians' attitude to Canada's ethnic and cultural balance. This news column lasted for a year and it focused on all comments on the news immigrants this year. The author describes how the majority of Canadians thought immigration to Canada "should not be allowed to change the country's ethnic and cultural balance," and some Canadians said that "we need immigration rates that are consistent with our absorptive capacity, but without dramatically changing the nation of Canada itself."

The article continues:

> …public opinion polls shows that Canadians believe the federal government is allowing too much immigration. An important indicator of citizens' views, they say, is a 1987 Gallup survey paid for by the immigration association, in which 77.8 per cent of those questioned said they felt that the size and content of immigration should not be permitted to change Canada's "ethnic and cultural balance." Of the 1,048 people questioned, 52.7 per cent said they wanted immigrants to be selected from countries with cultures similar to Canada's. ... In the November election, Mr. Fromm ran in Mississauga East for the Confederation of Regions Party. His radio commercials emphasized cutting back on illegal immigration. Canadians should not worry so much about free trade or whether their children will speak French or English, Mr. Fromm says. "We should be worried about whether they'll be speaking Chinese or Hindi."

Based on this reported opinion survey, Canada's "ethnic and cultural balance" actually refers to a desirable population composition containing a majority proportion of Europeans. The

article argues that most Canadians believed that Canada should accept immigrants with similar culture, so Canada would not lose its European cultural heritage. This was an obviously racist idea. The party representative Mr. Fromm made an even more bluntly racist statement, that by continuing to allow more non-white immigrants into Canada, the future population composition will be influenced. There were more articles that further focused on this topic.

For example, one article called, "New 'Oriental character' of B.C. prompts man to seek changes" from Jan. 23, 1989, says that Asian immigrants were making "unwanted changes" to Canada.

> Frederick Rex Werts proudly carries the flag for a brigade that defends Canada from unwanted change. "We cannot keep on doing what we are doing. If you dilute the basic composition of people in the country, you will be changed. For example, like it or not, we are taking on a more Oriental character in British Columbia." Mr. Werts, a retired marketing man, is an executive member of the foundation, formed in Vancouver to fight for "the preservation of Canada's heritage, customs and traditions." In its advertising for the meeting, the foundation said people from Britain and Europe were "the real builders" of Canada. "We needed them then. We need them now-- to bring the skills, the determination, the strength of character and the capability that served our nation so well," the ad said. Foundation spokesmen blend thinly-veiled criticism of immigrants from Asia, Africa and Central America with a strong denunciation of the Canadian policy that ties the flow of skilled and professional immigrants to the country's labour needs. ... Mr. Merts said he does not oppose immigration from Asian countries. He welcomes immigrants from Hong Kong, who are familiar with British law and order, speak English and embrace Christianity. But problems are created, he added, by immigrants who "are

> alien in every sense and they come in large numbers and do not assimilate very readily." Several people at the meeting spoke about problems getting Canadian citizenship for themselves or people they knew in Europe. Former Vancouver mayor Jack Volrich, the foundation's executive director, said the impact of recent changes in the immigration system dealing with family reunification and independent immigrants has been hardest on prospective immigrants from Europe. He described the system as an "irrational, crazy system that is keeping a great number of able people out of Canada." The foundation will provide information and advice to people frustrated by immigration laws and will lobby for change, he said.

This article is written by The Globe and Mail editor in Vancouver. It is an interview with the spokesmen of the British/European Immigration Aid Foundation. The article uses the term *"oriental character"* to refer to large numbers of Asian immigrants in Vancouver. The phenomenon of growing numbers of Asian immigrants is described as an "unwanted change" to the basic composition of people in the country. According to this organization, some Canadians worried that the basic European and Caucasian character in the population might be diluted or lost if the number of Asian immigrants kept rising. In other words, Asians in Canada were viewed as a foreign race by some Canadians, no matter how long they had lived in Canada. Thus, their values, customs, and behavioural standards were all viewed as a corruption of the morality of Europeans and a contamination to Occidental culture and Canadian institutions (Satzewich, 1989; Li, 1994).

In this article, Asian immigrants are viewed as aliens who are racially distinct from the European population in Canada. Basically, the article fails to provide any solid evidence for the idea that Asian immigrants were less desirable than European immigrants. The spokesman also

claims that he did not oppose Asian immigrants and especially welcomes those from Hong Kong. But the reason he views these Asian immigrants as acceptable is because they are "familiar with British law and order, speak English and embrace Christianity." In other words, people from Hong Kong were more familiar with European culture and norms. In this regard, the subtext of *"oriental character"* refers to any differences from European features in norms, habits, and culture. The term reflects a concern among Canadians that there was a danger of losing their European culture and tradition if more Asian immigrants came to Canada. Thus, the term *"unwanted change"* not only indicates an unwanted increase in the numbers of Asian immigrants in the population, but also means Oriental values, customs, and behavioural standards that would corrupt the European morality and contaminate Occidental culture in Canada. Taken together, concerns in the news discussions over Asian immigrants were closely related to race issues. The coded messages in terms such as *"ethnic and cultural balance of Canada"* or *"unwanted change"* actually attribute social problems to racial differences.

In short, this type of news article reinforces the undesirable image of Asian immigrants. It also illustrates how phenotypic features of Asian immigrants were considered a primary ground for their exclusion. Further, when similar discussions repeated this assertion, more undesirable images were attributed to them. The tensions between Asian immigrants and Canadian residents were easily recognized, and the root of these tensions was the differences between races. Thus, the process of image-creating was basically a process of attributing certain social problems to minority groups. Some normal differences between races such as phenotypic difference, cultural habits, language, and even some ways of thinking were given special meaning and connected with certain undesirable behaviours, according to the dominant group, as a way of exclusion.

6.3.2.4 Blaming other social problems

The last group of articles expressing negative views of Asian immigrants were discussions about the social problems they created, such as crime, disease, and language problems. For example, some articles talked about Asians being involved in gang activity (*The Globe and Mail*, Jan. 6, 1989), and there has been a "gang lure" for Asian youth (ibid, Jan. 3, 1989). These kinds of articles created a bad image for young Asian people, suggesting that they usually got involved in criminal activities. Other examples about how Asians caused social problems include reports about the added burden on the school system. For example, one article written by another famous Globe and Mail editor Michael Valpy in his column "Valpy". In this article he argues,

> …since a large number of the dependents of the Asian immigrants spoke English as a second language, public schools were required to torturously wrestle with the problem of how to educate them. It is a subject -- along with the pressure of Hong Kong money on housing costs and the generally increasing visibility of so called visible minorities -- that are causing unease in the city. (*The Globe and Mail*, Feb. 28, 1989)

Although there were only a few articles talking about these problems, these articles were usually written by the Globe and Mail editor. Because the article written by the editor usually has some influence to the reader, then the content can gradually arouse tension between Asian immigrants and Canadian citizens.

All together, these newspaper articles created a group of negative myths about Asian immigrants, including myths such as buying up real estate, pushing up housing prices, insisting on debased cultural traits, creating social insecurity, using up social welfare, and so on. These myths were really driven by both their phenotypic features and the ignorance of the contributions

that Asian immigrants made to the society. Thus, there was a growing tide of racism towards Asian immigrants during this phase.

6.4 Conclusion

In the newspaper discussions during this phase, all topics on immigration concentrated on minority groups. The changes in immigration policy aimed at broadening the recruitment of business immigrants also brought about many discussions about this new wave of immigrants. Based on the quoted information and the analysis, we can recognize the serious resistance to immigrants in general. One central concern of those resistant to immigrants was the cultural and ethnic balance in Canada.

Discussion about Asian immigrants was the main topic during this phase, and Asian business immigrants were given the most attention. However, despite the economic accomplishments they had made, the image of Asian immigrants as being undesirable had not changed. Rather, Chinese immigrants' control over the real estate market in Vancouver had especially aroused concerns. In fact, the general perception of Asian immigrants was largely based on both real observations and imagined descriptions from the news media. The four perspectives on the negative impact of Asian immigrants reinforced the grounds of racial antagonism. Therefore, both news discussions of non-white immigrants in general and news descriptions of Asian immigrants, particularly Asian business immigrants during this phase, conveyed a racial subtext that aimed to highlight the cultural and ethnic differences between non-white immigrants and most Canadian residents. Racism was created in the news discourse by attributing negative images to immigrants.

Of course, the racial message in media discourse was usually implicit as non-racist and only expressed as concerns from citizens. And explicit racial messages were especially reinforced and legitimized in media reports of opinion polls regarding immigration levels. Over

time, the undesirable image of ethnic groups of immigrants became the major excuse for Canadians to exclude them from mainstream society.

All together, the construction of a racial image for ethnic immigrants in the media discourse was through a process of attributing social problems to race. In this process, ordinary differences between racial groups became unsolvable problems. Racism against immigrants was caused by both the volume of non-white immigration and the racial identities of immigrants, but it was reinforced by the media descriptions of minority immigrants.

Chapter 7
MEDIA IMAGES OF IMMIGRANTS, 1995-2012

7.1 Introduction

In the phase from 1995 to 2012, the Canadian government focused on framing immigration in terms of Canada's benefits and the security of its social and cultural boundaries. There was an ongoing shift in the supply of immigrants from traditional sources such as the United Kingdom, Western Europe, and the United States, compared to Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Public concerns about Canadian border security and monitoring of the influx of immigrants aroused a lot of discussions in the news discourse during this phase.

7.2 Historical review and immigration policy in this phase

In the last phase from 1995 to 2012, the Liberal Party remained the majority holder of seats in the Parliament until 2006 when Stephen Harper, who represented the right-leaning parties in Canada, became the prime minister. Prime Minister Jean Chretien's government, from 1993 to 2003, improved a healthy Canadian economy, including elimination of the deficit and created a budget surplus for five years. In 2003, Paul Martin became the new prime minister, and the Liberal Party continued to be the majority government for the following three years. In 2003, two political parties, the Canadian Alliance and the Progressive Conservatives merged into the Conservative Party of Canada, which won the 2006 election and ended a 13-year division of the conservative vote (Riendeau, 2007). During Stephen Harper's leadership, Canada and the United States made an agreement to strengthen security along the Canada-United States border. From 2002 to 2011, Canada was involved in the Afghanistan War (ibid).

The major immigration policy changes in this phase included a new Act (the 2001 Immigration and Refugee Protection Act) and new regulations (the 2002 immigration regulations). The 2001 Immigration and Refugee Protection Act clearly distinguishes between

regular immigration and refugee protection (Li, 2003: 26). It sets out the general framework and empowers the governor-in-council to make regulations pertaining to immigration and refugee matters. The admissible classes of immigrants in the 2001 Act were the economic class, the family class, and the refugee category. Immigrants to Canada had to fall into at least one of these three classes, and the country would not accept anyone that exhibited security, criminal, health, or financial problems (Kelley and Trebilcock: 425). The focuses of this Act are "to permit Canada to pursue the maximum social, cultural and economic benefits of immigration" and "to enrich and strengthen the social and cultural fabric of Canadian society" (Li, 2003: 26; Statutes of Canada, 2001: c. 27, s. 3.1). There is a strong emphasis in the Act to "frame immigration in terms of Canada's benefits and economic benefits to Canada" (Li, 2003: 26). The amendment of immigration regulations in 2002 provides further classifications within the economic class of immigrants, which include skilled immigrants, business immigrants (including the self-employed, investors, and entrepreneurs) and provincial or territorial nominees. It assigns more weight to educational and occupational factors in the selection of economic immigrants. Specifically, to assess skilled immigrants, 25 points were given to educational background, 24 points to official language fluency, and 21 points to their previous occupational experiences. To assess business immigrants, the same points were given to educational background and knowledge of an official language, with the only difference being that more weight (35 points) was given to the applicant's previous business background (Li, 2003: 39-41). It is clear that the selection of economic immigrants in this phase stressed human capital, with significant emphasis put on educational and occupational qualifications and official language ability, especially for business immigrants.

On the other hand, each year the government made decisions about immigration levels for the different admissible classes, including levels for refugees sponsored by the government and private groups (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010: 395). Over the turn of the twentieth century, the focus of Canadian immigration changed from a highly selective policy to one that gave more consideration to humanitarian concerns (Beach, Green & Reitz- Wilson: 2003: 139). According to Kelley and Trebilcock (2010: 379), there was a large influx of refugees from non-traditional source countries since the late 1980s. The annual number of received refugees reached its peak in 1989 at 36,745, making up 19 per cent of total immigrants admitted that year, and declined to 11,801 in 1993, or 4.6 per cent of the total admitted (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2000). The inflow of the refugees was designated to come from three sources in 1979: the Indo-Chinese, the Eastern European Self-Exiled Persons, and the Latin American Political Prisoners and Oppressed Persons (Kelley and Trebilcock: 396).

According to Kelley and Trebilcock, many commentators called for a radical change in immigration policy, including "a lowering of annual admission, stricter selection criteria, and a much more restrictive approach to refugee admissions" (2010: 417-418). After tightening up the admission grounds for refugees and immigrants in the 2001 Act (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010: 425), the government published new immigration regulations to further update the point system in June, 2002 (Canada Gazette, Part II, vol. 136, no. 9, pp. 1-149). The regulations applied more restrictive criteria in order to select skilled workers and economic immigrants with greater emphasis on their human capital.

The changes in the 2001 Act and 2002 regulations reflect some concerns from several national studies and public debates since 1994. A national immigration consultation first launched by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Sergio Marchi, in 1994 laid

the grounds for many immigration changes in the 21st century. For example, the 1994 consultation discussed a number of issues that interested the public including concerns over the economic performance of immigrants, immigration integration costs, refugee admission, and border security controls (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1994a). According to the results of consultations, "a greater share of immigrants will be selected on the basis of their ability to contribute to Canada's economic and social development, reducing demand on integration services" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1994b). Subsequently 4 areas of concern were reflected in the immigration policy changes that appeared in the 2001 Act and 2002 regulations.

First of all, the consultations with federal officials reflected a definite support to the business program in the immigration policy in recent years (CIC, 1994a: 65). But the report from the consultations indicated that "the provinces, the public and department officials all suggested for improvement to the business program that the federal government should better monitor and scrutinize the investments to ensure specific long-term benefits" (ibid). In fact, a tightening of controls over the inflow of economic immigrants can be found as early as the 1993 amendments to Immigration Regulations. These amendments put immigrant investors into the Business Immigration Program separately, and applied strict controls about how investment capital was to be organized (Order-in-Council, 1993-1626, cited in Li, 2003: 28). According to the 1993 amendments, the investor immigrants with a successful business background had to invest a minimum amount ranging from $250,000 to $500,000 in the "active business operations of eligible business", which created or continued employment for Canadian citizens or permanent residents (ibid). Specifically, the business operations had to show a visible economic development and regional prosperity in Canada, and the total assets of the business could not exceed $350,000,000 (ibid, section 6.2.1). In 1999, the federal government made further

amendments to the Business Immigration Program that raised the investor's required minimum net worth as well as the amount of investment, which would have to remain locked for five years (Order-in-Council, 1999-525, cited in Li, 2003: 28). Therefore, the 2001 Act tightened up the criteria of admission for the economic class, and it showed a stronger preference for young, highly skilled workers as potential immigrants (Kelley and Trebilcock: 429). The point system was then updated in the 2002 regulations with more emphasis on potential immigrants' "general training and experience, proficiency in English or French, youth, and post-secondary education" (ibid).

In terms of the family class of immigration, the 1994 national immigration consultations showed that family reunification was "essential for the stability" (CIC, 1994a: 27), and some argued "without a family support system, it is more difficult for the immigrant or any of the family members to become economically self-sufficient" (ibid, 29). So the immigration policy continued to provide priority to spouses and dependent children. But many public discussions indicated doubts about whether the economic contributions of family-sponsored immigrants amounted to the same benefit as that of independent immigrants. And there was also a discussion in the immigration consultations about the definition of extended family according to other cultures (CIC, 1994b). It suggested that the traditional definition of family had changed and there was a need to account for such situations as single parent families (ibid, 11). And in some other cultures, closely tied family members might also include extended family members rather than a traditional Canadian family unit, composed of father, mother, and children (ibid). For these reasons, the 2001 Act expanded the range of those who could be sponsored by family members in Canada, but the financial requirements of eligible sponsors were still strict (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010: 425).

Security concerns were also reflected in the in 2001 Act as it was designed to stop criminals and illegal immigrants from getting into the country (Kelley and Trebilcock, 2010: 425). In the summer of 1999, four ships of Chinese migrants landed on the coast of British Columbia and aroused attentions to illegal entries. According to Kelley and Trebilcock (2010: 458), the public reaction to these unauthorized arrivals illustrated a willingness to further restrict the entry of immigrants in order to enhance Canadian border-security and the public safety. The terrorist attacks of 9/11 reinforced these concerns and led to direct reactions to the unauthorized arrivals of immigrants and the removal of suspected security threats from Canada (ibid).

7.3 Media Discussions on Immigration in this Phase

During this phase, the unemployment rate first dropped from 11.4 per cent in 1993 to 6.8 per cent in 2000. Then the unemployment rate hovered around 6 and 7 per cent until it climbed up again to 8.3 per cent in 2009. In general, the unemployment rate remained at a lower level compared to the previous phase, from 1979 to 1994. Although the lowest unemployment rate of the phase was in 2000, the sample news articles were selected for 1999. One reason is that there were a lot of articles about the ships carrying the illegal immigrants from China in 1999. The other consideration was to include a sample year that also reflected the public's opinions in the 90s. Another sample year selected from this phase was 2009, when the unemployment rate reached its peak before 2012. In total, there were 528 articles selected.

Despite the very different national and international contexts within which immigration in this phase was discussed, the range of problems attributed to immigrants is quite similar. In general, news discourses on immigration during this phase focused on three central topics: economic returns of immigrants, diversity and multiculturalism, and security issues. These topics addressed different aspects of the public's concerns regarding the costs and benefits of immigrants in Canada. The first topic about economic returns of immigrants mainly discussed

the economic performance of business immigrants and skilled immigrants that had arrived since the 1980s. Business immigrants were assessed in terms of the specific capital investment they brought and its productivity. Skilled immigrants were evaluated in terms of how successful they applied their skills and knowledge in the labour market.

The second topic about diversity and multiculturalism was stirred up mainly because of the increased numbers of immigrants of visible minority origins in Canada. For example, between 1981 and 1996, the number of visible minorities was more than doubled in three major Canadian cities, Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver (Hou and Picot, 2003: 537).[3] Visible minorities also continuously made up the majority of the annual immigrants that arrived after the 90s. According to Kelley and Trebilcock (2010: 418),

> In 1990, over 50 per cent of new arrivals came from Asia and the Middle East, and the percentage increased to 58 per cent by 2006, with the largest source countries being China (15 per cent) and India (12 per cent).

On the other hand, the annual number of European immigrants continued to decline from 25 per cent in 1990 to about 16 per cent in 2007 (ibid).

In this phase, news articles on diversity were often discussed together with multiculturalism. The multiculturalism policy was first introduced by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in the House of Commons on Oct. 8, 1971 (Li, 1999), and the policy was further formalized in the Multiculturalism Act in 1988. The concept of *multiculturalism* has been used descriptively, as a matter of multi-ethnic groups co-existing in the society, and normatively, as an ideology with an emphasis on the social value of many cultures brought together through

[3] Based on Hou and Picot's study (2003), visible minorities are defined by the Employment Equity Act as "persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour." Specifically, the following visible minority groups are included: Chinese, South Asians, Blacks, Arab/West Asians, Filipinos, Southeast Asians, Latin Americans, Japanese, Koreans, and others (originally quoted from Kelly, 1995).

immigration. According to Li (1999: 149), Canada usually treated the term *multiculturalism* as a concept synonymous with "Canadian pluralism", as opposed to *"assimilationism"*, but both concepts were ambiguous. The term *multiculturalism* is clear when it is used to describe the heterogeneous ethnic compositions in Canada as a result of increased immigration from non-European source countries since the 1970s (ibid). Therefore, the public discourse gradually associated the term *multiculturalism* with a larger proportion of non-European immigrants from Asia, Latin America, and Africa. On the other hand, besides referring to Canada's demographic reality, the term *multiculturalism* can also refer to social changes brought by the diverse ethnic and racial composition of immigrants that is characterized by many different religious traditions and cultural backgrounds that co-existed in Canadian society (ibid). And some critics said these social changes were undesirable: for example, the divisiveness of cultural diversity might influence the national unity. Therefore, many discourses adopted the concept of multiculturalism as a democratic value to promote equality and to combat racial discrimination. In other words, multiculturalism became a normative standard of interpretation to the diversity in Canadian society.

In general, news discussions about diversity tended to put an emphasis on the effect of divisiveness of cultural diversity brought by non-white immigrants to Canadian society. The standards of evaluation were usually based on the European tradition and cultural traits. For example, there was a column in 2009 named "Report on Diversity". Some discussions in the column focus on the undesirable social changes aroused by the diverse population. The column expresses worries about the threat of European cultural loss due to co-existing diverse cultures. The context often implies that the cultural diversity brought in by non-white immigrants was weakening the cultural character and social cohesion of Canada. In this sense, *diversity* usually

became a codified concept in the news discourse to refer to undesirable differences of population as well as changes they brought to the society.

The third topic in the news discourse at this phase was about security concerns from the public. The landing of undocumented immigrants in British Columbia in 1999 prompted many discussions over illegal entries. These unexpected Chinese migrants were described in news articles as smugglers taking advantage of Canada's generous refugee system (*The Globe and Mail*, July 22, 1999). This issue caused some sensational responses from the public. Many articles with this topic implied a weak border control and refugee system in Canada. Then the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 (9/11) especially aroused serious border and security concerns among the public. Many discussions asked the government to apply stricter policies to carefully monitor the inflow of new arrivals. News discussions on this topic often assumed that security problems were related to ethnic immigrants and refugees. For example, visible minorities, such as Asian and African were usually the main targets for discussions about criminal activities, such as illegal entry, gang activity, or prostitution (*The Globe and Mail*, Jan. 11, 1999; Feb. 10, 1999; July 22, 1999; etc.).

According to Henry et al. (2000), economic, social and political uncertainty, whether real or perceived, often arouse fear of threat within the dominant cultural group. Some scholars name it as "moral panic" (Cohen 1972; Husbands, 1994; Hall et al. 1978). The feeling of such moral panic would make the group members think the moral order was under threat (Hier and Greenberg 2002:140). In fact, according to Hier and Greenberg (2002), mass media were the main force constructing moral panic or "discursive crisis" to problematize certain groups of people. After a moral panic had been created in a society, it was usually more socially acceptable to express direct racial ideas about ethnic groups. For example, refugees were often viewed as

less valuable to Canada and as potential security risks (*The Globe and Mail*, May 7, 1999a; ibid, May 7, 1999b). One article describes Kosovo refugees as criminals and the other article concerns the security and health threat they may bring to Canada.

> As displaced families from Kosovo started to arrive in Canada this week, Ottawa's approach to newcomers… The Calgary Sun put out the welcome mat for the refugees, but at the same time expressed its displeasure with the federal government for allowing so many criminals to come into Canada as immigrants. (May 7, 1999a)

> How's their health? Do they pose a threat to Canadian security? Well, it depends. … It is likely that they will bring violence and ethnic conflict to Canada and, if they choose to stay here, … It's true that many of the refugees have suffered privation, terror, poor nutrition and exposure to unsanitary living conditions, the combination of which could have jeopardized their health. (May 7, 1999b)

Therefore, news media often used some social events to create a sense of insecurity, also as the 1999 summer Chinese "boat people", or the 9/11 event, and problematized some ethnic groups of immigrants, such as those from Kosovo (May 7, 1999) or Pakistan (May 24, 1999), as though they brought a threat to Canada's security.

At this phase, the media discussions showed that when the unemployment rate was high, news articles frequently blamed it on immigrants' poor performance in the labour market. The news discourse tried to conclude that the recent decline of immigrants' labour market performance was "the result of the change in the countries of origin and skills of immigrants as more of them were from Asia, Africa, and Latin America" (Wilson, 2003: 126). Although the cultural features of immigrants from these non-traditional regions were viewed as "diverse" to Canada's society, the tone was usually unpleasant when referring to the social changes brought

by cultural diversity. However, although the economic environment was in fact quite good as indicated by the low unemployment rates, non-white immigrants were still viewed as undesirable in many discussions (*The Globe and Mail*, Jan. 1, 1999; May 24, 1999; etc.) One reason is that the political events usually created the moral panic in the public and consequently influenced the media portrayals of certain groups of people.

Therefore, news articles from this phase show that besides economic factors, certain social and political factors could also influence how the media viewed the "desirableness" of immigrants. Another example of such social factors was the outbreak of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) in 2003. Because of the sample years in this phase, there were no articles that talked about this health incident specifically, but some articles mentioned that Canada had to apply careful health checks to prospective immigrants before their arrival (*The Globe and Mail*, July 8, 2009). According to Li (2009), the health concern was triggered by SARS in Canada. It was estimated that "between March and June, more than 1,000 articles were published on SARS in the national newspaper in Canada" (2009: 16). Specifically, the health panic among the public led to some harsh responses toward the Chinese community in Toronto. Many news articles very directly used racialized words to implicate Chinese immigrants during that time (ibid). Therefore, the analysis of news articles also considered the social and political influences upon the media discussion besides the economic factors in this phase.

7.3.1 Media discussions on economic returns

In the previous phases, the economic benefits of immigrants were usually hotly debated in the media discourse, and this phase was the same. News discussions kept focusing on the economic performance of immigrants that had arrived since the 80s and 90s. Since the admission categories of immigration were "premised on bureaucratic decisions based on regulatory admission criteria" (Li, 2003: 40), economic class immigrants were granted admission if they

fulfilled the labour market selection criteria. In other words, economic class immigrants were accepted because they brought certain human capital or investment capital to meet the labour market needs. The expectations contained in the news discourse of this economic class, especially business and skilled immigrants, were such that "they are deemed to bring a greater economic value to Canada than those admitted under family class or the refugee class" (Li, 2003: 43).

The discourse firstly described a slowdown in the direct investment and a decline in human capital growth in general during this phase. Then, some news articles evaluated the economic performance of business immigrants and that of skilled immigrants separately in different economic situations. When the unemployment rate remained low in 1999, news articles viewed business immigrants as if they did not make any significant contributions, and just came to exchange their investment capital for citizenship. When the unemployment rate rose in 2009, some articles especially focused on the labour force productivity, and mentioned that skilled immigrants from non-traditional regions, such as Asia and Africa, usually experienced serious underemployment (*The Globe and Mail*, July 25, 2009; Sept. 11, 2009; Nov. 24, 2009).

7.3.1.1 Business immigrants

News article discussions about business immigrants included self-employed immigrants, investors, and entrepreneurs. The news discourse showed very contradictory opinions toward business immigrants when the economic situation changed in this phase. In 1999, when the unemployment rate remained low, the news discourse generally ignored the contributions made by business immigrants and reiterated that Canada needed immigrants including business immigrants with better human capital.

According to Li (2003: 29), a large proportion of business immigrants to Canada have been from Asia. From the entire period from 1985 to 2000, business immigrants from Hong Kong and Taiwan accounted for 33 per cent and 15 per cent respectively (ibid). In 1989 a student movement in China triggered a sudden increase in immigrants from mainland China (Wang & Lo, 2004: 5). According to Wang and Lo's working paper on Chinese immigrants and their settlement in Canada (2004), a steady flow of mainland Chinese, mainly professionals and skilled workers, had been arriving in Canada in the 1990s when China tried to be accepted into the WTO and the Chinese government eliminated most of the restrictions on the exit of Chinese citizens. The number of business immigrants from mainland China had also increased in the 1990s. In the news discourse in this phase, the term business immigrants usually referred to Chinese immigrants.

Business immigrants were viewed as desirable in the previous phase because of the expected economic value they were deemed to bring to Canada. However, in the news discourse at this phase, business immigrants became less desirable. They were mainly blamed for two problems. The first was their lack of fluency in official languages since most of them were from Asian countries. And the second was that they were suspected to use capital to acquire citizenship and were not effective in contributing to Canada's economy.

For example, a Front Page article, entitled "Ottawa wants immigrants with better educations", expressed concerns about the language problems of business immigrants:

> Immigrants should be better educated and increasingly flexible when coming to Canada. ... The proposals were introduced by Citizenship and Immigration Minister Lucienne Robillard yesterday. ... And her department plans to modify its system of

> selecting immigrants by focusing more on education and experience than on occupation. ...
>
> To meet the new requirements of a labour market that changes every day, the qualifications required do not remain the same. ... [There is] a proposal requiring business immigrants and investors to speak English or French. About half of the entrepreneur immigrants and two-thirds of the investor immigrants do not speak one of the official languages, the proposal contends. (Jan. 7, 1999a)

The above quotation argues that Canada needed better-educated immigrants due to the changing labour market. The article suggests that the different economic situation asked for better qualifications of immigrants. And the article especially mentions a proposal that asked for business immigrants having better language skills because most of them did not speak one of the official languages of Canada. Language skill was part of the human capital in the selection criteria applied to other types of immigrants such as skilled immigrants. But business immigrants were mainly admitted based on their previous business background and an investment guarantee so their educational background was usually not included in the criteria for admission. Gradually, the difference in the selective focus applied to business immigrants as opposed to skilled immigrants provided an excuse for changes that suggested business immigrants were usually lacking in certain human capital such as language ability. In this sense, the news discourse focused on business immigrants' lack of certain educational qualifications.

In the same day, *The Globe and Mail* also published a letter to the editor supporting the idea in the proposal that suggested more selective requirements be applied to the business immigrants. It said:

> Entrepreneurs and Investors who enter Canada because of the money they bring sometimes dump the money here and run, getting their Canadian citizenship as a reward. It would be better, as the government has acknowledged, if these would-be arrivals had demonstrated some entrepreneurial ability back home rather than just arriving with bags of dough. (Jan. 7, 1999c)

The quotation from this letter indicates that some members of the public viewed business immigrants as undesirable too. There is a sense that business immigrants just brought capital but did not start any business as expected when Canada admitted them.

On Jan. 23, 1999, an editorial article was published in the newspaper to argue the same issue again. The editor says that,

> Investor-class immigrants will be required to have some English proficiency before they arrive. ... The federal government moved to impose the offshore-assets disclosure law to those had offshore business. By 2001, Canadians with more than $100,000 offshore will have to declare those assets, which if you still have most of your money in Asia, will work against you.

In all three examples, the news discourse does not mention the positive contributions made by the business immigrants. Rather, this article agrees with the previous proposal to require business immigrants to speak one of the official languages before they came. The quotation indicates an even stricter policy should apply to their offshore assets. These discourses display a belief that business immigrants would invest only a certain amount of capital to get their citizenship while keeping most of their business in Asia. Therefore, the news descriptions did not see business immigrants as desirable, but took the view that they spoke the official languages poorly and did not demonstrate their true business abilities in Canada.

However, when the unemployment rate rose, the news discourse changed its attitude and started to claim that investment from business immigrants could create more employment opportunities. For example, one article in the Jan. 13, 2009 edition, mentions an economic recession in Canada, but it also reports that Chinese immigrants had the highest investment income. The article says,

> Chinese Canadians have a higher rate of investment income than the general population, and more immigrants have investment income than have non-immigrants, new census figures reveal. The findings ... underscore that most immigrants do well over time in Canada, and that Chinese Canadians do exceptionally well. Canada's South Asian and Chinese populations are similar in size and have similar total earnings, but Chinese have 2.5 times more in investment income. "The nature of Canada's mosaic has shifted, and now the Chinese community is moving to the top of the triangle, by virtue of their investment income and mobility amongst the second generation," said Jack Jedwab, executive director of the Association for Canadian Studies. "More Chinese came to Canada with funds during the past couple of decades." ... Other visible minority groups fall below the national average. ... Chinese Canadians are also enthusiastic investors. On average, 4.3 per cent of the total income of all Canadians is investment income -- defined as interest from bonds, deposits in banks and trust companies, dividends from stocks and mutual funds, and rents from real estate. However, 6 per cent of the total earnings of Chinese Canadians ($26 billion) is investment income, while for South Asians it is 2.7 per cent.

This article is a report regarding the 2006 census date. It confirms that Chinese immigrants brought capital investment in the recent decades and that they were successful investors. The data show that immigrants had higher investment income than non-immigrants, and Chinese immigrants especially had much higher investment income than other visible minority groups. The context also suggests that under the same conditions, Chinese immigrants were more willing to make investment. In this regard, Canada welcomed Chinese immigrants because they were making significant economic contributions to Canada. Since Canada also experienced a global economic recession at this phase, Chinese immigrants did not received blame at least in terms of their economic contributions to Canada. However, this does not mean Canada removed all racist ideas about the Chinese. This will be further discussed in the section regarding diversity. The generous news descriptions of Chinese investors only prove that media discourse in Canada defined the value of desirableness of immigrants solely based on how Canada could benefit from their presence.

7.3.1.2 Skilled immigrants

Due to the policy of selecting immigrants with abundant human capital since the 1960s there was an accumulation of skilled immigrants with good human capital in the labour market since then. Discussions of skilled immigrants in this phase especially addressed the issue of skilled immigrants' underemployment. Some articles claimed that Canada did not make full use of the human capital of skilled immigrants. And there were many other articles indicating that the immigrants' previous experience and educational qualification were usually not recognized in Canada after their arrival. Moreover, the term *skilled immigrants* was frequently used in the media discourse at this phase in such a way that the context created an image of non-white immigrants that were usually without decent jobs or employment after arrival, as the quotation

below shows. Although they were originally admitted because of their human capital qualifications, the discourse implied that Canada did not actually benefit from their skills or human capital as expected.

For example, on May 24, 1999, one article entitled "Given us your highly educated: but there's no guarantee of a job in their field" was highlighted on the front page and went on report in the business section. It says,

> Canada, a nation worried about its "brain drain," is letting his brain go to waste. A veterinarian in his native India, Mr. Gupta says he came to Canada two years ago because he was led to believe he'd be able to do the same work here. Instead, he's working as a telemarketer, watching as his two university-age children pile up student loans. ... Mr. Gupta says he can't afford, on his present salary, the cost of the exam that will allow him to work as a veterinarian here. "Immigrants coming to this country are all highly qualified people," he said. "So many engineers are forced to do factory work. So many qualified doctors distribute pizza. This is a loss of talent." His story is not unique. Canada, a nation of immigrants, is no longer integrating the 200,000 yearly arrivals into the job market as well as it once did, even though they are better educated than ever. ... The education level of these immigrants flies in the face of conventional wisdom that education is the key to advancement in North America: 36 per cent of the recent male immigrants had a university degree in 1996, as did 31 per cent of the immigrant women. A decade before, 31 per cent of immigrant men and a quarter of women had university degrees. Bob Bray, employment unit manager at the International Center in Winnipeg, said much of the drop in employment levels can be blamed on the recession of the early 1990s. ... The numbers also show that higher education levels haven't helped immigrants

> move up any quicker into more stable employment. “In many ways, Canada’s economic environment is getting less friendly,” Mr. Bray said. “The more education they have, the harder it is to find a job.” Recent immigrants are actually better educated than Canadian-born workers.

The above quotation indicates that the labour market in Canada did not recognize skilled immigrants’ educational qualifications if they were earned in their source countries. And the higher education levels of immigrants did little to help them find stable employment or to be promoted any faster. This part of the article does not provide specific reasons for these phenomena, but describes many stories about skilled immigrants after their arrival. The article continues in the following pages where it mentions that visible minorities were usually hard-pressed to find a job:

> And language likely isn’t the problem. ... In 1993, the federal government tightened immigration regulations so as to put more emphasis on education and language skills. They also made it harder for landed immigrants to bring family members into the county. This policy ... favours professionals who worked as doctors, dentists or engineers in their native countries. A PhD, for instance, gives the prospective immigrant 16 of the 70 points necessary to qualify as an independent immigrant. ... Often, their degrees aren’t transferable, or they are prevented from practicing their professions by the provincial regulatory bodies. ... It’s tough for an immigrant to come into a country and find a job when their qualifications aren’t recognized. And there’s a perhaps more troubling statistic in the census figures. Immigrants who are visible minorities earn roughly two-thirds of the salary earned by white immigrants. Men who identified themselves in the 1996 census as both recent immigrants and visible minorities earned an average of $22,600 in

> the preceding year. Women who fell into the same categories earned an average of $16,300. Both those numbers were down from the 1986 census. ... The 1996 census revealed that for the first time, less than half of Canada's immigrant population -- which includes anyone born outside the country -- is of European birth. There are nearly two-and-a-half times as many people living in Canada now that were born in Asia as were born in the British Isles. ... Worst off are visible minorities, particularly those from West Asia, the Middle East, Latin America and Vietnam. "They are overrepresented among the poor," concluded the report, which was based on data from the 1991 census. "The poverty they experience in Canada is close to what they have had in their home countries."

This part of the article illustrates how non-white skilled immigrants experienced underemployed at this phase. The article argues that language was not the reason for their underemployment. The quotation also points out that skilled immigrants were selected by strict education and language standards, but non-white skilled immigrants' educational qualifications were usually not recognized or transferable in the labour market. So they could only work as general labourers in Canada, which led to lower income. Based on the 1996 census, the article roughly compares the immigrants' earnings and shows that visible minorities received over 30 per cent less income than white immigrants. By implication, the context suggests that the ethnic background of immigrants had some negative effects on their economic returns in Canada.

Moreover, the article mentions that the existing population of non-European immigrants had exceeded those of British and European origins according to the 1996 census. And the numbers of Asians in the immigrant population[4] had outnumbered those with British origins. The

[4] Immigrant population refers to those who reported they were born outside of Canada but migrated to this country.

article also indicates that non-white immigrants experienced similar poverty in Canada as they did in their source countries. Based on the article, the data in the 1991 census showed that visible immigrants from West Asia, the Middle East, Latin America and Vietnam were overrepresented among the poor people in Canada. The discourse argues that Canada's immigration point system awarded points for skills that wouldn't be recognized on non-white immigrants' arrival. Thus, the subtext implies that visible minorities brought in poverty instead of valuable skills that Canada needed. In this way, although more non-white immigrants came as skilled immigrants at this phase, the discourse rather attributes an image of poverty to them. Consequently, the term *skilled immigrants* indeed referred to non-white skilled immigrants in the discourse.

7.3.2 Media discussions on "diversity"

Canada became demographically more diverse as a result of large numbers of immigrants with different cultural and racial backgrounds since the late 1960s (Li, 2003: 124). Media discussions about diversity were basically concerned with social changes aroused by the increased number of non-white immigrants in the society. There were several ways to describe the diversity of Canada in the news discourse. The first one was to measure Canada's diversity in relationship to the two charter groups: the British and the French. This way of explanation was usually adopted to discuss the diverse composition of Canada's population. The second way was to enlist the concept of diversity when it discussed the multiculturalism in Canada. The term is usually used as a trichotomy to characterize a multicultural Canada other than bilingualism and biculturalism. The third way was to discuss Canada's diversity in terms of "cultural diversity" (Li, 2003: 125-128). It mainly referred to the different values and cultural habits that non-European immigrants are believed to have brought to Canada.

Major topics in the news discussions were about the cultural security and social cohesion due to the challenge from increased diversity in Canada. According to news media, "increased

diversity" meant the increasing numbers of non-white immigrants. Thus typical examples include non-white immigrants' congregation in large cities such as Vancouver and Toronto, the tendency of visible minorities to congregate in the same ethnic neighbourhoods, heavy demands on the school systems due to large numbers of immigrant children not speaking one of the official languages, and other ethnic activities that were believed to undermine Canada's traditional values and heritage. In this way, diversity became a coded concept in the discourse to imply the social changes brought by non-white immigrants. But some of the changes happened at a rapid rate and had changed the face of Canada that then became uncomfortable to many long time residents. For example, one letter to the editor complains about the participation of visible minorities in military units. The article says,

> "It was heartbreaking in the Dec. 6 Sun to see the faces -- so young, once so alive -- of the 100 Canadians who have given their lives for their country, fighting in Afghanistan," he wrote. "If a picture of 100 Canadians was taken today, you could count on it being politically correct, with our multiculturalism front and center". But our multiculturalism was nowhere to be seen in the photo of our fallen. ... New immigrants -- and as the 2006 census reports, fully 75 per cent of the immigrants who arrived in Canada between 2001 and 2006 belonged to a visible minority group. ... But take the province of Ontario, for instance, which has 2,476,565 visible-minority citizens. Almost half of them - 46 per cent - are in Toronto. The other 1.5 million or so folks are spread out across the enormous province, mostly in urban areas. ... It's much the same in British Columbia, where for the first time in the 2006 census, visible minorities passed the one million mark, accounting for almost a quarter of the population of the province -- the highest percentage for any province or territory. But guess what? Almost 87 per cent of those visible minorities live

> in one urban area -- Vancouver. What I think this really means, and how it goes some distance to explaining the white maleness of Canadian casualties, is what a soldier friend said when I posed to him my reader's question: "While Canada has a good-sized immigrant population," he said, "it is not nearly as vast as people like to let the CBC delude them into thinking. ... I think the military is a fairly solid representation of the actual multicultural Canada." ... This divide is less one about white and non-white faces. It is rather -- as with many of the other divides in the country -- an urban-rural or a city - small town one. I would have guessed, for instance, that the sons of Atlantic Canada accounted for more than its share of the dead, yet the greatest number of the fallen, by far, come from Ontario - 32 of them, only two of them were Toronto boys. It is the small towns of Ontario -- from Keswick, Kenora, Hamilton, Napanee, Orangeville, Niagara Falls - which have suffered so grievously. (*The Globe and Mail*, Jan. 1, 2009)

This letter to the editor mentions that 100 Canadians lost their lives in fighting for the country. He emphasizes that they were all white. He argues that the military did not show the diversity as it existed in the population since Canada kept receiving large proportions of non-white immigrants every year between 2001 and 2006. Based on the above quotation, non-white immigrants usually congregated in the large urban cities after their arrival. On the other hand, the writer says that most of the soldiers who lost their lives in the fight were white Canadians and came from small towns. In fact, the writer tries to suggest that few non-white immigrants actually served for the country, at least in the reserve units. The letter implies that the coming of non-white immigrants to Canada just added diversity to the population, but they did not contribute as much as what white immigrants did to the nation. In this article *multicultural* actually refers to the increase of non-white people in the country. The subtext is to reiterate that

the enlarging non-white population added diversity, but did not provide contributions or values as significant as those of white Canadians did for the country.

Moreover, the news discussions about diversity especially commented on Asian immigrants. For example, one editorial article describes the social changes prompted by the increase and then the decrease of Chinese immigrants coming to Canada. The article entitled "Lotus Lament: on, to be invaded again" says that,

> all those people who used to complain about the fallout from the Asian Invasion in Vancouver -- overcrowding in schools, the construction of "monster houses" that blocked their view, traffic problems from people just learning to drive their Mercedes, the sacrifice of trees to comply with the principles of *feng shui* -- have got their wish. The invasion is over. Vancouver, which absorbed nearly 45,000 immigrants in 1996, 38,000 of them Asians, saw the number dwindle to 19,000 Asians in the first nine months of 1998, most of them now from mainland China. According to the province's multiculturalism and immigration department, the trend continues. So the school boards are faced with laying off teachers, the price of houses is back to 1985 levels, the luxury car dealers look drawn and tense, and the trees are safe, for now. ... Don Devoretz, the professor at Simon Fraser University who has become the city's foremost expert on immigration, reminisces fondly about the good old days of 1996, when Vancouver swallowed 100,000 people -- immigrants and other Canadians seeking the Lotus Alternative -- without a burp. Since 1994, a quarter of a million immigrants have come to town, the vast majority Asian. "Until recently, I've been asking my audiences in the U.S.: What other place in the world can take in a quarter of a million people without any racism?" Well, some racism. A certain class of locker-room lout who complained about

> all those Chinese people driving up the cost of houses in Kerrisdale to ridiculous levels is now complaining about all those Chinese people driving down the cost of houses in Kerrisdale to a ridiculous level. It's their fault we're in a recession. ... Vancouver was the Flavour of the Decade, the City of the World, for Chinese people, but a number of factors have done us in (no longer the Flavour of the Month). (*The Globe and Mail*, Jan. 23, 1999)

This article uses the word *invasion* to describe the large influx of Asian immigrants when they came to Canada. Based on the above quotation, the editor mentions some social changes with the arrival of Asian immigrants as undesirable, such as overcrowded schools, driving up house prices, etc. It seemed that Asian immigrants' activities created tensions in the society and undermined the normative traditions of Canada. This idea implied that Canada cherished European tradition, and Asian immigrants were very undesirable to Canada because they seemed to bring only undesirable differences to Canada's European pattern.

Moreover, according to Breton (1999), tensions related to changes in cultural diversity will lead to anxieties among the dominant group about Canada's traditional European identity. Such anxieties would arouse negative attitudes and resistance towards the changes and diversity in a sense that the ethno-cultural diversity was usually perceived by members of the dominant group as "a contestation to restructure the symbolic and cultural order of Canada" (Li, 2003: 129). Therefore, the growth of Asian immigrants and their tendency to congregate in major urban cities like Vancouver reinforced the impression that there may have been long-term consequences in diversity. In this regard, discussions about diversity in the news discourse indicate an opinion from the public to preserve the European social and cultural symbolic order of Canada.

7.3.3 Media discussions on security issues

According to Li (2003: 180), Canada designed a system "to select the best-qualified immigrants and to keep out the pauperized mass of asylum seekers." The unequal economic and social values were usually placed on immigrants depending on whether they were seen as "selected" or "self-selected" (Li, 2003: 40). For example, those admitted under the family class or the refugee class were granted admission on the grounds of close family ties or humanitarian considerations. Therefore, they were viewed as not having met the labour market selection criteria applied to economic immigrants that they must have either human capital or investment capital to help Canada's economy. In this regard, family-class immigrants and refugees were less desirable for they were unsolicited and had limited human capital to be able to contribute to the economic value of Canada.

However, an advanced capitalist country like Canada could not refuse to admit those "less valued" immigrants for humanitarian reasons and only drain the highly trained immigrants from other regions of the world. According to Li (2003: 6), as of 1995, 23 million refugees were estimated to have arrived in Canada, and the number increased to 25 million in 1998 and that was 14 per cent of total inflow of immigrants that year (ibid). And there was a noticeable decline in the admission of family-class immigrants in the late 1990s (Li, 2003: 40). Whether driven by political factors, economic forces, or family reunion purposes, people seek entry to highly developed countries that can offer better economic opportunities and life conditions (Li, 2003:6-7). When more refugees or undocumented immigrants arrived, the news articles focused a lot on the security issue especially at this phase.

Media discussion on the topic of security during this phase frequently focused on crime-related issues involving recent immigrants, for example, illegal entry, human smuggling of some ethnic groups of immigrants, previous criminal records of refugees, and faked documents used

for immigration applications. Moreover, the news media often interwove immigrants' race and ethnicity into stories of activities that seemed to have potential security risks to the society.

For example, one article entitled "Ottawa Wants Better-Educated Immigrants", mentions that Canada was faced with illegitimate refugee applications. It says,

> To meet the new requirements of a labour market that changes every day, the qualifications required do not remain the same....The government also plans to make it tougher for illegitimate refugee claimants to apply. For example, claimants who are rejected and then return to the country to make another claim in front of the Immigration and Refugee Board would be barred from doing so. The government also plans to make it easier to deport an individual who has committed a serious crime by removing a level of appeal. (*The Globe and Mail*, Jan. 7, 1999b)

An editorial article published in the section of opinion and editorial on the same day discusses the same issue. The editor says,

> There also are a series of measures -- most of them defensible -- to try to stop criminals and other undesirables from entering Canada and, if they do get there, to get them out of the country. This may be easier said than done, since the Supreme Court has ruled that even a convicted drug dealer can apply for refugee status. Especially notorious are the smuggling rings and the clearly fraudulent refugees whose documentation mysteriously disappears once they have boarded an airplane. (*The Globe and Mail*, Jan. 7, 1999c)

The first quotation emphasizes that Canada had to pay more attention to the illegitimate refugee claimants. It implies a more strict policy, and suggests that any individual would be deported if convicted of criminal activities. It also indicates new government efforts to limit illegal immigration. And such initiatives were also to ensure no undesirable outcomes would

affect Canada's economic and societal balance. The second article reiterates this idea, and further connects criminal-related terms like *drug dealer, smuggling ring,* and *fraudulent refugees* with newcomers. With such descriptions, the context implies that refugees were highly undesirable because they might cause security problems after arrival.

After the 9/11 event, security became the top concern in Canada. News reports frequently connected potential security risks with immigrants. For example, one article entitled "Flight blocked from U.S. airspace for carrying terror suspect" in the June 27, 2009, reports that a terrorism suspect was an immigrant from Morocco. It says,

> U.S. authorities ordered a flight carrying a man accused of ties to terrorism from Fredericton to Montreal to turn around mid-air earlier this month. Adil Charkaoui who spent two years in jail despite not being convicted of any crime under Canada's security certificate program, was flying back to Montreal on June 3 when U.S. authorities refused to clear his Air Canada flight through American airspace. The flight turned around, and Mr. Charkaoui was asked to get off. Mr. Charkaoui, a landed immigrant from Morocco, was arrested in 2003. The Canadian Security Intelligence Service alleges he is an al-Qaeda sympathizer. He is no longer in jail, but faces strict conditions and monitoring.

Based on the above quotation, Mr. Charkaoui was a terrorist suspect. The Canadian Security Intelligence Service alleged this landed immigrant from Morocco was an al-Qaeda sympathizer. Since the term *al-Qaeda* became very sensitive when referring to terrorists after the 9/11 event, such a description would arouse great concerns from the public on the border-security issue. And Mr. Charkaoui was also refused permission to cross the border and fly through American airspace. So the context implies that Canada's border policy may have been too lenient, and Canada might have been made use of as a "gateway" for more illegal immigrants

to the U.S. Moreover, because the article also mentions the ethnic origin of this immigrant, it helped the public to draw a quick connection that people from this region might bring security risks to Canada. This type of discourse uses some *trigger terms* such as *al-Qaeda* to arouse attention from the public about illegal immigrants and other criminal issues.

7.3.3.1 Refugees

Many articles also discussed refugee claimants, and argued that many illegal or undocumented immigrants came by refugee policy. Many discussions viewed political refugees, conventional refugees, and refugees from religious persecution as another security risk to Canada. The news discussions made them seem eager to enter into a highly developed country like Canada because of an expectation of a secured economic life. However, there were articles discussing the economic and employment status of refugees and arguing that most of the refugee immigrants had difficulty finding jobs or even regaining the same economic status as they had in their countries of origin. For example, one article published on May 24, 1999, talks about a refugee family suffering religious persecution:

> The jubilation Anwar and Mubashira Khawaja felt when they came to Canada five years ago has gradually turned to despair. The pair, doctors in their native Pakistan, were elated when they and their three sons were accepted as refugees from the religious persecution they faced as members of the Ahmadiyah sect of Islam. Today, they're contemplating returning to Pakistan. Although they might face persecution there, at least they would be able to practice medicine. ...
>
> "We think again and again that we should move back to our country." Mr. Khawaja said, "If I move back now, I have a full-fledged hospital and patients. Here I have nothing." He and his family have been living off welfare and the small income he's

earned as an occasional security guard and telemarketer. It's quite a culture shock for a family that lived in a government house with servants and a chauffeured car in Pakistan.

The fact that both of these Pakistani doctors could not find jobs in a related area in Canada illustrates that it was very difficult for such refugees to realize their economic expectations in the destination country. By implication, it also shows that this type of immigrant had little value to Canada. Since Canada considered immigrants as desirable when they had economic value and would not add social and financial burden to the society, refugees clearly did not belong the desirable category of immigrants for Canada.

The discourse in articles that discussed conventional refugees also did not show optimistic expectations. For example, one article, published on July 18, 2009, describes conventional refugees from Bhutan:

> Seven Western countries agreed to accept the Bhutanese after years of talks between Bhutan and Nepal ended in stalemate. ... In Canada, the Bhutanese are to be settled in nearly 30 communities from Newfoundland to B.C. Eventually, about 900 refugees will move to Coquitlam, just outside Vancouver. ... The Nepalese and Bhutanese community in Canada is tiny. Coquitlam Mayor Richard Stewart compared the Bhutanese refugees to Wild West pioneers, landing in a strange country with little English, few job skills and even fewer relatives and friends. Many of the younger refugees were born and raised in a camp. ... They face a raft of challenges. Most of the adults come from farming backgrounds and have only a high-school education. Some have spent their entire adult lives in a refugee camp and have no work experience. ... The biggest shock is sure to be cultural. The Bhutanese are moving from a near-primitive rural setting to a fast-paced

> modern city. Light switches, flush toilets, refrigerators - even chilled food and drinks - are as foreign as cellphones and computers.

According to this article, the conventional refugees were usually from backward places such as developing regions in the world. For example, the refugees from Bhutan in this article were from an agricultural society, so they lacked higher education and also had no idea of the developed industrial world. Based on the quotation, people from there had little knowledge of English, no relatives and friends in Canada, and few job skills or education because many of them were raised in a camp. So Canada had to provide a lot of supportive services to help them to settle before they could really contribute to society.

If the above examples do not say directly that Canada considered refugees as undesirable, the following examples use more blatant language to describe that they had little value to Canada, and added extra tensions to society. It seemed that the rising expectations from the less-developed regions in the world to seek better material conditions in developed countries could only lead to intensified border controls to keep out those considered to be undesirables. The term *refugee* also became a coded concept in the news discourse to refer to people from less developed regions that brought a lot of social burdens to the receiving society.

There was a column named “Refugees and Immigration” in the section of news in 2009. One article from this column on Nov. 4, 2009, argues that Canada should apply a more selective policy to refugee claimants due to increasing illegitimate claims. It says,

> Canada’s increasing selectivity with regard to refugee claimants, revealed in a recent report of the government to Parliament, should be seen in conjunction with other aspects of Canada’s immigrant and refugee system. Canada is still an open and welcoming country, and the government is showing concern for refugees who are in the greatest

> danger. ... There are greater problems with immigrant and refugee adjudication and settlement. ... The refugee process continues to encourage illegitimate claims and interminable appeals. ... Canada rightly embraces immigrants who can make an economic contribution. ... Canada's intentions on immigrants and refugees, by and large, resonate with Canadian values. The difficult work of making the processes work for genuine claimants, and for Canadians as a whole, must continue.

Based on the above quotation, the article claims that the refugee program indeed encouraged a lot of illegitimate claims. So it argues that Canada should apply a more strict policy to select refugees. The article also emphasizes that Canada really wanted immigrants who could help the economy. By implication, refugees were not desirable immigrants for Canada since they couldn't bring any significant economic value to the country. The program also brought a lot of illegal immigrants to Canada.

According to Henry et al. (2000), a discourse about security issues is to emphasize and single out the primary source of danger. The news discourse usually constructed some groups of immigrants or refugees as "target groups" that would imperil national security (Broda, 2005). Gradually, by identifying and isolating the threat from certain groups of immigrants or refugees on the basis of source countries, the dominant society could construct a social boundary to those undesirable immigrants.

7.4 Conclusion

News articles in this phase indicated that the news discourse still viewed immigrants as desirable according to their cost and benefit to the society. Desirable immigrants were those who could bring human capital and other benefits to Canada, and undesirable immigrants were those who only brought problems to the society. First of all, their racial and ethnic backgrounds largely

determined their desirableness to Canada. For example, although non-white business immigrants and skilled immigrants had brought investment capital and human capital into Canada, the discourse did not view them as desirable. There is substantial evidence to indicate that the value of immigrants was discounted or distorted in the immigration debates simply because of their ethnic origins. Moreover, the discourse attributed various social problems to the influx of recent immigrants based on the different cultural and racial backgrounds they brought into Canada's European tradition. Specifically, the news discourse at this phase especially questioned the growing cultural and racial diversity as though they would affect the social cohesion of Canada. In this regard, diversity was seen as "an undesirable social feature that recent non-white immigrants bring to Canada" (Li, 2003:140). Therefore, non-white immigrants were still unwanted since many of them were unable to find jobs and their cultural differences brought social changes to urban Canada that were unwanted.

Of course, the economic situation also influenced how the news discourse evaluated the exact cost and benefit of different racial groups coming as business or skilled immigrants. However, social and political factors had great impact on the evaluation of the desirableness of immigrants in terms of their cost and benefits to Canada when some discursive crisis happened in a society. For example, the economic influence was not significant in the discussions on security issues, particularly immigration's security risks, which aroused moral panic among the public. On the one hand, the label of *desirable immigrants to Canada* meant they were educated labourers or had capital investment to contribute to the country's economic development. On the other hand, Canada also had to ensure border control to keep out those who posed security threats to the country. So the immigration debates usually identified target groups as the undesirable immigrants that were perceived as dangerous and were subject to strict policies to

monitor their access into the country (Kephart, 2005; Edwards, Jr. 2005; Broda, 2005). In this regard, the basic value standard in Canada's immigration was utilitarianism. And the standard for deciding which immigrants belonged to target groups who were perceived as either valueless or dangerous to Canada was always associated with the issue of race using the term *diversity* to represent it.

Chapter 8
CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

To analyze how Canada's media discourse on immigration has changed in the four historical phases after the Second World War, I focused on examining the language and debates articulated in the news articles selected in each phase. To understand the overall public debates on immigration today and in history, I selected articles from *The Globe and Mail* for it held nation-wide readership. In total, 1551 articles were selected, within which 239 articles were selected from the first phase, 441 from the second phase, 343 from the third phase, and 528 from the fourth phase. Sample articles include news stories, reports on opinion polls, editorials, and letters to the editor.

In this study, I specifically examine how different categories of immigrants have been articulated, and how racialized immigrant groups have been constructed in four historical phases under different economic conditions. The study shows that the economic situation can influence public discourse and make the reconstituted boundaries of exclusion of certain groups of immigrants socially acceptable. Using unemployment rates as an indicator of the economic conditions, I argue that when the nation experiences an economic recession, it becomes more acceptable for the media and the public to express racist messages about non-white immigrants with more direct and exclusionary language. I also recognize that political factors and major social events may also influence how immigrants are socially constructed.

8.2 Research Summary

The first task of this study was to clarify how the content of news reports on immigration changed in different historical phases after the end of the Second World War. So I used SPSS to conduct a frequency analysis of news subjects. It highlighted the breakdown of articles according

to the percentage based on major themes of articles, and it also provided a clear way of comparing the general news coverage on immigration issues over four phases.

The second task was to examine the main themes discussed in each phase as well as the rhetorical messages articulated in the news articles. Specifically, I used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyze news discussions about immigrants in different economic situations as I attempted to critically understand how the media had changed its focus in step with changes in the economy.

In this research, I employed a method of CDA that was adopted from approaches used by van Dijk (1991, 1993, 2001), Wetherell and Potter (1992), and Fairclough (1992). I looked into both the macro and micro levels of the news text, and interpreted the subtext of the news discourse in the context of the national and international background during each historical phase. In this way, I uncovered how the coded language and linguistic structures contributed to the construction of racialized discourse.

8.2.1 Key Findings

In this study, I mainly answer three questions. First, had the economic situations changed the content of immigration debates in the newspaper? Second, had the economic condition changed the tone of immigration debates, such as how the newspaper discussed immigration issues and whether the discussions constructed certain images for particular immigrant groups? Lastly, did the changes in the discussions as well as the construction of images for certain immigrant groups include or exclude groups of people from the category of desirable immigrants in different economic situations?

In terms of the content of news discussions, this study shows that there was a change in the focus of news discourse when the unemployment rate rose. For example, in the first phase, when the unemployment rate remained low, immigration was viewed as essential to help

Canada's population and import labourers for agricultural development. However, when the unemployment rate rose high, immigration was viewed as a main reason for the economic recession as the newcomers did not assimilate well and were hard pressed to find jobs. In the second phase, Canada concentrated on bringing in more skilled immigrants in general, but when unemployment rates rose, news discourse viewed only British and European immigrants as valuable to Canada. In the third phase, Canada started to admit business immigrants. Due to the reform of immigration policy in the last phase, more non-white immigrants came to Canada because of their human capital or financial capital. Therefore, news discussions on immigration issues in the third phase concentrated on minority groups. There was a resistance to non-white immigrants in general in both economic situations. And there was a serious resistance to Asian immigrants especially when the unemployment rate rose. In the last phase, more immigrants were coming from non-European countries. When unemployment rose, the news discourse called for more careful control of the inflow of minority immigrants. And historically, economic downturns also provoked a more restrictive immigration policy. Therefore, the economic stagnation and high unemployment produced negative public debates on immigration.

My examination of the language, structure, and tone of the news articles reveals that there were several biases and subjective images constructed of non-white immigrants in the news discourse. In general, there were four main biased beliefs about non-white immigrants in the public mind in Canada. The first belief was that non-white immigrants competed for Canada's economic opportunities, such as jobs, that should first be given to Canadians. Secondly, the public viewed non-white immigrants' cultural and social values as undermining Canada's European traditions and identity. Thirdly the public believed that non-white immigrants would pose threats to Canadian society. And the fourth belief was that the newly arrived non-white

immigrants competed for social welfare of Canada. In the end, non-white immigrants were never depicted as desirable immigrants for Canada in the media discourse.

There was substantial evidence in the media discourse indicating that the public did not prefer the growing number of non-white immigrants coming to Canada. The discourse portrayed non-white immigrants as less valuable in the sense that they were thought to have low-value education, poor language ability, and incompatible cultural traits, foreign to Canada's European tradition. The arrival of a large number of non-white immigrants in a short period was thought to undermine Canada's social cohesion, cultural unity, and economic development. Although the terms *race* or *colour* were not used very often in the news discourse, it did frequently use *visible minorities* or *diversity instead*. However, these terms were in fact used to indicate fundamental cultural differences of racial minority immigrants and how these differences created problems in Canada. Moreover, in Canada's public opinion the immigrants' races were not seen as a social problem; rather, the discourse described the many diverse elements living in the society to show how Canada was "tolerant" to visible minorities. In fact, the real message of the news discourse was to show the extent to which Canadian society was ready to accept the diversity brought by immigration. In another words, the resistance to immigration in some phases when the economy was in recession was only a resistance to non-white immigrants.

Another bias and misrepresentation of immigrants focused on Asian immigrants. With the growth of the Asian immigrant population after the 1960s, and the arrival of some business immigrants from Asia in the 1980s, there was a clear racial message that could be ascertained in the news discourse. Much of the anxiety was aroused when prosperous Asian immigrants moved into the neighbourhoods that were traditionally dominated by upper-middle-class white Canadians (Li, 2003: 157). A tendency that Asian immigrants preferred to congregate in the

urban centers of Canada created tensions among the public. Furthermore, news discussions on Asian immigrants always mentioned the racial and cultural differences compared with Canada's European cultural tradition. But the news discourse usually used public concerns about urban development as pretexts to justify the reservations towards Asian immigrants. Therefore, Asian business immigrants were only viewed as desirable immigrants in a short period when Canada's immigration policy started to attract newcomers with capital investment in the 1980s. Asian immigrants, including business immigrants, became "problematic" again in the late 1980s.

Another type of immigrants that was also misrepresented in the media discourse were refugees. The arrival of more undocumented immigrants aroused the public's security concerns. Many articles viewed undocumented immigrants or refugees with false documents as law-breakers. Moreover, after the 9/11 event, the news discourse showed special attention to discussions about terrorist threats. There was no evidence to show that admitting more refugees for humanitarian purposes would affect Canada's border security. However, this study does suggest that news discourse played a crucial role in producing fear and sometimes transformed the subjective interpretation into social actions to limit refugee immigrants. Together with Canada's value standard, which evaluated immigration in terms of their cost and benefit, refugees were obviously not desirable to Canada.

In short, the media discourse on immigration illustrated how subjective perceptions about certain racial and ethnic groups and normative values from the dominant group in society can distort the tone and tenor of discussion in the immigration debate. The articulation of racial preferences in the media discourse also illustrated how racial messages were always interwoven with descriptions of ethnic background in assessing the value of immigration.

8.2.2 Limitations

Besides the above findings in regard to the changes in the media representations of immigration through history, this research also has some shortcomings in terms of the scope of this analysis. First, the selection of newspaper articles were only based on searches using the key words *immigrants* and *immigration*. Secondly, I mainly concentrated on articles from news reports, editorials, and letters to the editor. And lastly, all articles were selected from *The Globe and Mail*. So the scope of this analysis was limited to articles sorted out in this way. There might be more news articles from other sections as well as in other newspapers that relate to my research topic. In this regard, future research would be needed to select and compare wider coverage of the immigration debate in other sources of news discourse.

Another limitation of this study was associated with the method of Critical Discourse Analysis. The main challenge for applying CDA to news articles chosen for research was to make sure all interpretations were just and objective. However, the researcher's interpretation of the themes of the articles and the tone of certain articles might have been influenced by some personal experiences. To ensure the validity of my research findings, I adopted a quantitative analysis besides my scheme of qualitative discourse analysis, which helped to validate and support my assertions in regard to thematic differences in news coverage in each phase. Further, I quote a lot of textual examples from the news articles to support my argumentation and analysis. Therefore, although CDA-based research has often been criticized regarding the problem of reliability, I employed a well-built theoretical framework for this study to make sure it would not be measured solely on one criterion.

8.3 Research Contributions and Theoretical Implications

My research on Canada's media discussion on immigration after WWII provides an important example of how the concept of immigrants is socially constructed. The study explores

the changing content of the term *desirable immigrants* in Canada's news discourse on immigration. The research findings from this study also contribute to the theoretical understanding of how racialized discourses are expressed and reinforced under different social and historical circumstances. Within the theoretical framework inspired by Robert Miles' historical investigation of racialized discourse, I argue that the social boundaries of exclusion and inclusion can become flexible in a period of economic stagnation and this made the racial discourse change its focus in different historical periods.

Conceptually, the term *immigrants* refers to people who have moved from one country to another permanently (Li, 2003: 46). However, as discussed in the theoretical framework in this study, the term *immigrants* has been socially constructed in Canada's immigration debate and the term is often used with some added implications and values. Based on this study, I found out that the content of the notion of immigrants is often inconsistent. In general, there are four different approaches adopted by the media discourse to decide who should be considered as immigrants, and each places certain social and economic values on them to make fine distinctions among immigrants in four historical phases. The different approaches to construct the notion of *immigrants* actually delineate different assessments of immigrants and their influence on Canada's society under different historical phases.

The first approach is to place higher value on British and West-European immigrants than immigrants from other countries. In the first phase, media discourse describes British and European immigrants as the most desirable immigrants because their language, social and cultural habits are all close to Canada. In the second phase, British and European immigrants are viewed as possessing essential skills that Canada needed. Therefore, using this approach to

define immigrants, British or European ethnicity is important when deciding whether or not immigrants are valuable to Canada.

The second approach is to place higher value on selected immigrants than on unselected immigrants. Prospective immigrants are granted admission if they have fulfilled admission criteria. However, unequal economic and social values are placed on immigrants regarding whether they are seen as "selected" or "self-selected". In specific, those admitted under family class are seen as not having met the labour market selection criteria that are applied to dependent immigrants, but get admission for humanitarian reasons and sponsorship. For this reason, the discourse places a higher expectations on independent or economic immigrants because they are selected based on education and skills level, so they are throught to bring higher human capital and greater economic value to Canada. In this regard, those admitted without being subjected to selection determination, such as self-selected dependents or refugees, are seen as a burden to Canadian society.

The third approach sees immigrants as people of colour who have poor language ability and usually work at a lower occupation position. And at the same time, white, middle-class professionals from Britian or the United States are not commonly perceived as "immigrants". For example, in the third and fourth phase, there is a sudden increase in the non-white population due to an immigration policy change in the 1960s. Immigrants in these periods are usually referred directly to non-white immigrants. This view of immigrants shows that skin colour is the basis for the social image of immigrants, who are seen as being made up of mainly non-whites (Li, 2003: 45). This approach stresses the cultural and racial difference between visible minorities and white Canadians, and it especially highlights the social costs of having non-white immigrants in Canada. Therefore, this approach of viewing immigrants often assumes a negative connotation

that non-white immigrants, because of their cultural and racial diversity, non-white immigrants created some immigration problems, such as altering the racial composition of traditional Canada, and arousing urban problems, etc.

The fourth approach measures the success and failure of immigrants based on a standard of native-born Canadians. The media discourse usually examines immigrants' occupation, earnings, language ability, and other behaviours between different immigrants groups or compared with native-born Canadians. The media discourse usually draws conclusions from these measures that whether or not Canada can get benefits from these groups of immigrants. Therefore, the success or failure of immigrants in these areas can become indications as to whether they have assimilated to the Canadian society, and how good or bad in the process of assimilation.

In short, the different approaches illustrate how immigrants are socially constructed in the media discourse. The process of social construction of immigrants suggests that the assessment of the social cost and economic contributions of immigrants depends not only on the social features of immigrants, but also on what values are adopted in the assessment. Therefore, the real assessment of immigrants' economic performance and their integration into Canadian society also depend on the ideological preference and conceptual bias toward immigrants in the society.

In addition to providing this theoretical interpretation of the social construction of immigrants, my study also illustrates how racialized discourses are constructed. The analysis in this study suggests that there is a racial subtext in Canada's media discourse on immigration. The discourse uses some coded terms, assumptions, and a rationale to develop a framework of understanding immigrants and some related "immigration problems". In general, the discourse shows obvious prejudice toward racialized ethnic groups– particularly non-white immigrants in

the first phase. But the discourse uses less offensive articulation to describe non-white immigrants later on. The descriptions of many misrepresented behaviours or other social problems aroused by diversity become meaningful as to why Canada opposed a higher level of non-white immigration. The widely accepted explaination is that Canada is afraid of losing its cutural heritage and social values. In this way, the opposition to non-white immigrants in the discourse is not premised unpon racism, but based on concerns about national unity and social cohension. Therefore, there may not be obvious discussions of race or skin colour in the news discourse, but the discourse often reiterates public's tolerance and bearings to some problems aroused by non-white immigrants. The discourse uses tolerance or opposition to racism to justify how the public's concerns over non-white immigrants are just and not racist. Gradually, the discourse as well the public, both ignore the value and contributions made by non-white immigrants to the society. In this regard, this study shows the method of critical discourse analysis is helpful in deconstrucing the racial articulations and racist ideas in the news discourse.

8.4 Summary

Although there are some limitations, this study still has some important contributions. Firstly, it provides examples to illustrate how racialized discourse was expressed and reinforced in a democratic country like Canada. Secondly, the theoretical framework employed in this study can also be applied to understand and analyze other racialized discourse in a society. Therefore, my thesis verifies how racial discrimination can still exist with coded language and "politically correct terminology" (Broda, 2005) in a democratic country. And most importantly, this study proves that where there is a value system of democratic racism, all racial messages can be rationalized and justified. So the racial intolerance can be accepted in a society. This can also

help to explain why the racialized discourse in Canada became equally bold and clear even in the last phase.

In conclusion, one of my purposes for doing this research in a critical way was to uncover the subtle social inequality and racism in the social dialogue (Wodack, 2001). Media discourse on immigration after the Second World War reveals the long enduring racial prejudice toward non-white immigrants. Canada needed immigration to help the "nation-building" and economic development. However, once the economic situation became bad, as indicated when more people were unemployed, the media discourse tended to blame non-white immigrants and viewed them as producing social stress and tensions in the labour market. Many social problems were therefore depicted as being caused by too many non-white immigrants coming to Canada faster than the society could absorb them (Li, 2003: 49). The idea of a limited assimilation of non-white immigrants was usually justified in the news discourse by providing anecdotes about non-white immigrants that experienced difficulty trying to integrate into the society due to their traditions, language, and cultural differences. In this regard, the idea that immigrants from Britain, Europe, and the United States were more desirable became obvious even without mentioning the difference in colour. Therefore, the racial differences of non-white immigrants, which made them undesirable to Canada, were "normatively transformed into fundamental cultural obstacles", and indeed influenced them to be accepted in large numbers (Li, 2003: 49).

The biases and misrepresentations of ethnic immigrants did not diminish by far. Racializing minority groups still exists in the society. Whether or not minority immigrants brought more benefit than cost was still one of the top debates deciding the ongoing policy making (Beach, Green & Reitz, 2003). The tensions aroused in history provoked a trend in the immigration policy to a more careful monitoring of the immigrants' inflow (ibid). In this regard,

a real demonstration of how immigrant groups have been represented in history may help promote policies and practices that treat different groups of immigrants equally, protect their fundamental freedoms and thus enhance the liberal democratic values in Canada.

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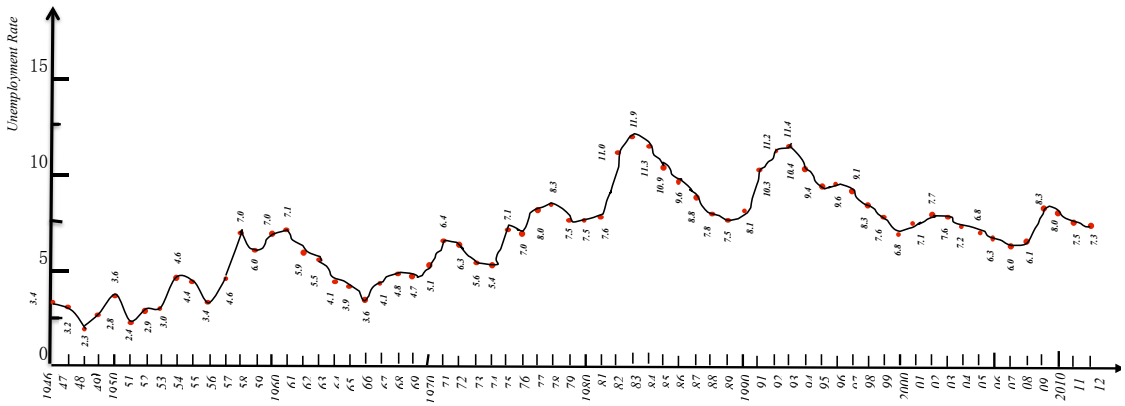
APPENDIX A
UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, 1946 – 2012

Appendix A Unemployment Rate, 1946-2012



Source: Data for unemployment rate in Canada,

1946-2000, Li, 2003:186-188 (for 1946 to 1975, are from Statistics Canada, *Historical Statistics of Canada*, 2nd ed. Catalogue DS11-516 E, pp.D223-247 (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1983; and for 1976 to 2000, CANSIM, Label: D984954, Title: CDA LF Characteristics Annual Averges/Unemployment Rate(original source SDDs 3701 STC (71-220, 71-529))).

2000-2006, are from Statistics Canada, *Canada's Unemployment mosaic*, 2000 to 2006, by Ernest B. Akyeampong, Jan. 2007 Perspectives. Catalogue no. 75-001-XIE, pp. 5-12

2007-2012,are from Statistics Canada, CANSIM, Table 109-5304,5324, Unemployment rate, Canada, provinces, health regions (2013 boundaries)and peer groups, annual (Percent)

APPENDIX B
SAMPLE ARTICLES AND ARTICLES SELECTED FOR ANALYZING IN FOUR PHASES

	Sample Articles (in total)	Articles selected for CDA
Phase I 1946-1961	239	8
Phase II 1962-1978	441	17
Phase III 1979-1994	343	10
Phase IV 1995-2012	528	14
Total	1551	49

APPENDIX C
LIST OF ARTICLES SELECTED FOR ANALYZING

Publication date	Section	News Title
Phase I		
Aug. 12, 1948	Opinion and Editorial	Given Green Light
March 20, 1958	Edition Front Page	Won't Relax Migrant Curbs, Fulton Says
June 6, 1958	Edition Front Page	Immigration to Canada is Cut 63 p.c. by Curbs: Fear Influx Would Add to Jobless
Aug. 6, 1958	Opinion and Editorial	Targets, Not Quotas
July 11, 1961	Opinion and Editorial	Colored Immigrants
July 19, 1961	Opinion and Editorial	Chinese Immigrants
July 27, 1961	News	Selective Immigration
Oct. 19, 1961	News	Immigrants Exploited, Building Inquiry Told
Phase II		
Jan. 4, 1966	News	Select Policy on Migrants to Continue
Jan. 6, 1966	Opinion and Editorial	Our Valuable Immigrants
Jan. 20, 1966	Opinion and Editorial	Immigration
Feb. 4, 1966	Report on Business	Ontario Polishes Image with Slick New Magazine
Feb. 10, 1966	News	Better Labour Consultation Urged
Feb. 26, 1966	Opinion and Editorial	Education's Rising Tide
March 15, 1966	Edition Front Page	Let Board Rule on Deportation: Sedgwick
March 18, 1966	News	Canada Plans to Entice Frenchmen
April 7, 1966	Report on Business	Immigration Book Paints Rosy Picture of Ontario
May 23, 1966	Opinion and Editorial	Competing for People
June 24, 1966	Report on Business	Canada-British West Indies Trade Pact Major Job of Revision at Caribbean Parley
July 8, 1966	News	Canada Offers Interest-free Passage Loans to Commonwealth Caribbean Immigrants
July 19, 1966	Report on Business	200 Firms on Staff-hunts Overseas
Nov. 30, 1966	News	MPs Assail Policy Changes on Immigration
Dec. 30, 1966	Report on Business	Prairies likely to Remain in Pink, but Labour Lack may Cause Pain
Oct. 28, 1974	News	Green Paper Says Family Ties, Economy Conflict
March 9, 1978	News	New Immigration Rules Tied Closer to Job Needs

Publication date	Section	News Title
Phase III		
Feb. 11, 1983	News	Social Agencies Prejudiced, Leaders of Ethnic Groups Say
Aug. 22, 1983	Report on Business	Metro is One of the Most Racially Diverse Centers in the World
Jan. 4, 1989	Opinion and Editorial	Considering Immigrants
Jan. 6, 1989	Edition Front Page	Asian Investors Flock to British Columbia with Pockets Jingling
Jan. 23, 1989	News	New 'Oriental Character' of B.C. Prompts Man to Seek Changes
Feb. 18, 1989	News	B.C. Official Assails Housing Speculation
Feb. 28, 1989	News	Immigrants Essential to Vitality of System
March 21, 1989	News	Canadians' Charity Was Always A Myth
Phase IV		
Jan. 7, 1999a	Edition Front Page	Ottawa Wants Immigrants with Better Educations
Jan. 7, 1999b	News	Ottawa Wants Immigrants with Better Educations
Jan. 7, 1999c	Opinion and Editorial	Sweeping Immigration Changes? Guess Again
Jan. 23, 1999	Opinion and Editorial	Lotus Lament: on, to be invaded again
May 24, 1999	News	Give Us Your Highly Educated
Jan. 1, 2009	Opinion and Editorial	Canada's Face in Afghanistan doesn't Fully Show its Diversity
Jan. 13, 2009	News	Chinese Canadians lead in Investment Income, While Immigrants Outpace Non-Immigrants
June 27, 2009	News	Flight Blocked from U.S. Airspace for Carrying Terror Suspect
July 18, 2009	News	From Refugees to Pioneers
July 25, 2009	Edition Front Page	Newcomers Could Suffer Much Longer-lasting Repercussions
May 24, 2009	Edition Front Page	Given Us Your Highly Educated; but there's no guarantee of a joy in their field
Sept. 11, 2009	News	Skilled Immigrants are Key to Business Success
Nov. 4, 2009	News	Refugees and Immigration: In the Right Direction
Nov. 24, 2009	Report on Business	Earnings Gap a 'Troubling' Trend